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**Frazer. On Certain Burial Customs.**

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ON CERTAIN BURIAL CUSTOMS AS  
ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE PRIMITIVE THEORY  
OF THE SOUL.

BY

JAMES G. FRAZER, ESQ., M.A.

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June 21, 1940

On CERTAIN BURIAL CUSTOMS *as illustrative of the* PRIMITIVE  
THEORY *of the* SOUL.<sup>1</sup>

By JAMES G. FRAZER, Esq., M.A.

IN his "Roman Questions,"<sup>2</sup> that delightful storehouse of old-world lore, Plutarch asks—"When a man who has been falsely reported to have died abroad, returns home alive, why is he not admitted by the door, but gets up on the tiles and so lets himself down into the house?" The curious custom to which Plutarch here refers prevails in modern Persia, for we read in "Hajji Baba" (c. 18) of the man who went through "the ceremony of making his entrance over the roof, instead of through the door; for such is the custom when a man who has been thought dead returns home alive." From a passage in Agathias we may perhaps infer that the custom is at least as old as the sixth century of our era.<sup>3</sup> A custom so remote from our modern ways must necessarily have its roots far back in the history of our race. Imagine a modern Englishman, whom his friends had given up for dead, rejoining the home circle by coming down the chimney, instead of entering by the front door. In this paper I propose to show that the custom originated in certain primitive beliefs and observances touching the dead—beliefs and observances by no means confined to Greece and Rome, but occurring in similar if not identical forms in many parts of the world.

The importance attached by the Romans in common with most other nations to the due performance of burial rites is well known, and need not be insisted upon. For the sake of my argument, however, it is necessary to point out that the attentions bestowed on the dead sprang not so much from the affections as from the fears of the survivors. For, as every one knows, ghosts of the unburied dead haunt the earth and make themselves exceedingly disagreeable, especially to their undutiful relatives. Instances would be superfluous; it is the way of

<sup>1</sup> Some additions have been made to the paper as read on March 10th.

<sup>2</sup> No. 5. It is to be observed that the explanations which I give of many of the following customs are not the explanations offered by the people who practise these customs. Sometimes people give no explanation of their customs, sometimes (much oftener than not) a wrong one. The reader is therefore to understand that the authorities referred to are quoted for the fact of the customs, not for their explanation.

<sup>3</sup> Agathias ii, 23. A man grievously sick was exposed in a desert place, and if he recovered and came home he was shunned as a ghost by every one till he had been purified by the Magi, and had, as it were, come back to life (*οἷον ἀντιπολάβοι τὸ αὐτοῖς βιῶναι*).

ghosts all the world over from Brittany to Samoa.<sup>1</sup> But burial by itself was by no means a sufficient safeguard against the return of the ghost; many other precautions were taken by primitive man for the purpose of excluding or barring the importunate dead. Some of these precautions I will now enumerate. They exhibit an ingenuity and fertility of resource worthy of a better cause.

In the first place an appeal was made to the better feelings of the ghost. He was requested to go quietly to the grave, and at the grave he was requested to stay there.<sup>2</sup>

But to meet the possible case of hardened ghosts, upon whom moral persuasion would be thrown away, more energetic measures were resorted to. Thus among the South Slavonians and Bohemians, the bereaved family, returning from the grave, pelted the ghost of their deceased relative with sticks, stones, and hot coals.<sup>3</sup> The Chuwashé, a tribe in Finland, had not even the decency to wait till he was fairly in the grave, but opened fire on him as soon as the coffin was outside the house.<sup>4</sup> The Jewish missiles are potsherds before, and clods after, the burial.<sup>5</sup>

Again, heavy stones were piled on his grave to keep him down, on the principle of "*sit tibi terra gravis*." This is the origin of funeral cairns and tombstones. As the ghosts of murderers and their victims are especially restless, every one who passes their graves in Arabia, in Germany, and in Spain is bound to add a stone to the pile. In Oldenburg (and no doubt elsewhere) if the grave is shallow the ghost will certainly walk.<sup>6</sup>

One of the most striking ways of keeping down the dead man is to divert the course of a river, bury him in its bed, and then allow the river to resume its course. It was thus that Alaric was buried, and Commander Cameron found the same mode of

<sup>1</sup> Sebillot, "Traditions et Superstitions de la Haute-Bretagne," I, p. 238; Turner, "Samoa," p. 150. The Annamese and Hindus particularly dread the ghosts of the unburied dead (J. G. Scott, "France and Tongking," p. 99; Monier Williams, "Religious Thought and Life in India," p. 239 *sqq.*).

<sup>2</sup> J. H. Gray, "China," I, pp. 300, 304. Similarly the Dacotahs address the ghost begging him to remain in his own place and not disturb his friends (Schoolcraft, "Indian Tribes," V, p. 65). The Karieng address their dead in like manner (Pallegoix, "Description du Royaume Thai ou Siam," I, p. 58).

<sup>3</sup> Ralston, "Songs of the Russian People," p. 319; A. Bastian, "Der Mensch in der Geschichte," II, p. 329. Cf. K. Schwenk, "Slawische Mythologie," p. 325.

<sup>4</sup> Castren, "Vorlesungen über die finnische Mythologie," p. 120.

<sup>5</sup> Buxtorf, "Synagoga Judaica," p. 701 *sqq.*; Bodenschatz, "Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden," iv, pp. 173, 175.

<sup>6</sup> W. Sonntag, "Todtenbestattung," p. 197; Brand, "Popular Antiquities," II, p. 309; Wuttke, "Deutscher Aberglaube," § 754, cf., 739, 748, 756, 758, 761; Klemm, "Culturgegeschichte," II, p. 225; Waitz, "Anthropologie der Naturvölker," II, pp. 195, 324, 325, 524; *ib.* III, p. 202; Ratzel, "Völkerkunde," I, p. 74; K. Weinhold, "Altnordisches Leben," p. 488; L. Strackerjan, "Aberglaube und Sagen aus dem Herzogthum Oldenburg," I, p. 154.

burial still in vogue for chiefs amongst a tribe of Central Africa. Du Chaillu was informed that the Obongos, a dwarf tribe of negroes on the Equator, sometimes bury their dead thus.<sup>1</sup>

The expedient of enclosing the grave with a fence too high for the ghost to "take" it, especially without a run, is common to the Finlanders and the Dyaks.<sup>2</sup>

Another simple but effectual plan is to nail the dead man to the coffin (the Chuwashé again)<sup>3</sup> or to tie his feet together (among the Arabs), or his hands together (in Voigtland),<sup>4</sup> or his neck to his legs (among the Troglodytes, Damaras, and New Zealanders).<sup>5</sup> The Wallachians drive a long nail through the skull and lay the thorny stem of a wild rose bush on the shroud.<sup>6</sup> The Californians and Damaras clinched matters by breaking his spine.<sup>7</sup> The corpses of suicides and vampires had stakes run through them.<sup>8</sup> Sometimes the heads of vampires are cut off,<sup>9</sup> or their hearts torn out and hacked in pieces, and their bodies burned,<sup>10</sup> or boiling water and vinegar are poured on their graves.<sup>11</sup>

Other mutilations of the dead were intended not so much to keep the dead man in his grave as to render his ghost harmless. Thus the Australians cut off the right thumb of a slain enemy, that his ghost might not be able to draw the bow,<sup>12</sup> and Greek murderers used to hack off the extremities of their victims with a similar object.<sup>13</sup>

Again, various steps are taken to chase away the lingering ghost from the home he loves too well. Thus, the New Zealanders thrash the corpse in order to hasten the departure

<sup>1</sup> Jordanes, "Getica," c. xxx, § 158; Cameron, "Across Africa," I, p. 110; Du Chaillu, "A Journey to Ashango-land," p. 321.

<sup>2</sup> Castren, *op. cit.*, p. 121; Bastian, "Mensch," II, p. 368.

<sup>3</sup> Bastian, *ib.* p. 337; likewise the Cheremissé (*ib.* p. 365). The modern Greeks sometimes resort to this practice, but only after a ghost has proved himself troublesome (B. Schmidt, "Das Volksleben der Neugriechen, p. 167, *seq.*).

<sup>4</sup> Köhler, "Volksbrauch im Voigtland," p. 251.

<sup>5</sup> Strabo xvi, c. 4, 17; Diodorus Siculus iii, 33; J. G. Wood, "Natural History of Man," I, p. 348; Yate, "New Zealand," p. 136. The Burmese tie together the two big toes, and usually also the two thumbs of the corpse ("The Burman: his Life and Notions," by Shway Yoe [J. G. Scott], II, p. 338; C. J. F. S. Forbes, "British Burma," p. 93).

<sup>6</sup> Schott, "Wallachische Märchen," p. 298; H. F. Tozer, "Researches in the Highlands of Turkey," II, p. 92.

<sup>7</sup> Bastian, "Mensch," II, p. 331; C. J. Andersson, "Lake Ngami," p. 226.

<sup>8</sup> Bastian, II, p. 365; Ralston, "Songs of the Russian People," p. 413.

<sup>9</sup> Tettau und Temme, "Die Volksagen Ostpreussens, Lithauens und Westpreussens," p. 275, *seq.*; Wuttke, "Deutscher Aberglaube," § 765; Töppen, "Aberglauben aus Masuren," p. 114.

<sup>10</sup> B. Schmidt, *loc. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> J. T. Bent, "The Cyclades," p. 45.

<sup>12</sup> Tylor, "Primitive Culture," I, p. 451.

<sup>13</sup> Suidas, *s.v.* *μασχαλισθῆναι, μασχαλισματα*.



of the soul;<sup>1</sup> the Algonkins beat the walls of the death-chamber with sticks to drive out the ghost;<sup>2</sup> the Chinese knock on the floor with a hammer;<sup>3</sup> and the Germans wave towels about or sweep the ghost out with a besom,<sup>4</sup> just as in old Rome the heir solemnly swept out the ghost of his predecessor with a broom made specially for the purpose.<sup>5</sup> Amongst the Battas in Sumatra the priest officiates as ghost-sweeper, and he is helped by the female mourners.<sup>6</sup> In modern Greece, as soon as the corpse is out of the house, the whole house is scoured.<sup>7</sup> In Madagascar when it rains heavily the people beat the walls of their houses violently, in order to drive out the ghosts who may be taking shelter from the inclemency of the weather.<sup>8</sup> In Scotland and Germany when the coffin was lifted up the chairs on which it had rested were carefully turned upside-down, in case the ghost might be sitting on them.<sup>9</sup> The Kakhyens in Northern Burma, on the Chinese frontier, dance the ghost out of the house, accelerating his departure by a liberal application of stick.<sup>10</sup> In ancient Mexico certain professional men were employed, who searched the house diligently till they found the lurking ghost of the late proprietor, whom they there and then summarily ejected.<sup>11</sup> In Siberia they give the ghost forty days' "law"; after which, if he is still hanging about, the shaman (medicine-man) hunts him out and drums him down to hell. To prevent the possibility of a mistake the shaman conducts the lost soul personally to the lower regions and secures him a favourable reception by standing brandy to the devils all round.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Yate, "New Zealand," p. 136; Polack, "Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders," I, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Brinton, "Myths of the New World," p. 255; "Relations des Jésuites," 1634, p. 23 (Canadian reprint).

<sup>3</sup> Gray, "China," I, p. 280.

<sup>4</sup> Wuttke, "Deutscher Aberglaube," §§ 725, 737; F. Schmidt, "Sitten und Gebräuche bei Hochzeiten, Taufen und Begräbnissen in Thüringen," p. 85; Köhler, "Volksbrauch, &c., im Voigtlande," p. 254.

<sup>5</sup> Festus, *s.v. everiator*.

<sup>6</sup> Marsden, "History of Sumatra," p. 388.

<sup>7</sup> C. Wachsmuth, "Das alte Griechenland im neuen," p. 120; J. T. Bent, "The Cyclades," p. 45.

<sup>8</sup> H. W. Little, "Madagascar, its History and People," p. 84.

<sup>9</sup> "Folk-lore Record," II, p. 214; Wuttke, "Deutscher Aberglaube," § 737; Köhler, *loc. cit.*; F. Schmidt, "Sitten und Gebräuche," &c., p. 92; Kuhn und Schwartz, "Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche," p. 435 *seq.*

<sup>10</sup> J. Anderson, "Mandalay to Momien," p. 77 *seq.* This death-dance was witnessed by Dr. Anderson and his companion, Col. Sladen. Indeed, by special invitation the learned doctor and the gallant colonel joined in the lugubrious dance and exerted themselves to such good purpose that after two turns the ghost fairly took to his heels and bolted out of the house, hotly pursued by the *premier danseur* with a stick.

<sup>11</sup> H. H. Bancroft, "Native Races of the Pacific States of North America," I, p. 641.

<sup>12</sup> W. Radloff, "Aus Siberien," II, p. 52 *seq.*

In North Germany, if a ghost persistently intrudes on your premises, you can get rid of him very simply. You have only to throw a sack over him, and having thus bagged him to walk off with your sack to some other place (as a rule the back garden of a neighbour is selected) and there empty it out, having first clearly explained to the ghost the exact bounds which you wish him to keep. Of course no sooner is your back turned than the ghost starts for home too. His plan is to jump on the back of the first person he sees and ride him in, but when he comes to the boundary, off he falls; and so it goes on, the ghost falling off and jumping on again most gamely, to all eternity. I nearly forgot to say that you had better not try to sack a ghost unless you have been born on a Sunday night between eleven and twelve o'clock.<sup>1</sup>

The favourite haunt of the ghost is usually the spot where he died. Hence in order to keep him at least from the house it has been a common practice to carry dying persons to lonely places and leave them there; but if the man dies in the house, it is deserted and left to its ghostly tenant. Thus the Kaffirs carry a sick man out into the open air to die, and the Maoris and Esquimaux remove their sick into special sheds or huts. If a Kaffir or Maori dies before he can be carried out the house is tabooed and deserted. If an Esquimaux is present at the death of a relative he has to throw away his clothes and never use them again.<sup>2</sup> The Bakalai in Central Africa drive sick people from the village, but if several people should happen to die in the village it is deserted.<sup>3</sup> Amongst the Balondas, when a chief or his principal wife dies, the village is deserted; but when an ordinary man dies it is only his house which is abandoned.<sup>4</sup> In England up to the end of last century it was a common practice to shut up a room in which a member of the family had died.<sup>5</sup> Amongst the Damaras, when a chief dies, the tribe deserts the neighbourhood; but after a time they return, the new chief offers sacrifice at the grave of his predecessor, and the village is occupied as before.<sup>6</sup> After a death the Andaman Islanders

<sup>1</sup> Kuhn und Schwartz, "Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche," p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> Lichtenstein, "Travels in Southern Africa," I, pp. 258, 259; J. Campbell, "Travels in South Africa," p. 515 *seq.*; G. Fritsch, "Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's," p. 116; R. Taylor, "*Te ika a mau*;" or, New Zealand and its inhabitants," p. 170; Yate, "New Zealand," p. 86; J. G. Wood, "Natural History of Man," II, p. 719.

<sup>3</sup> Du Chailu, "Equatorial Africa," pp. 384, 385. So with the Ashira, *ib.* p. 413.

<sup>4</sup> Wood, "Natural History of Man," I, p. 419.

<sup>5</sup> Dyer, "English Folk-lore," p. 231.

<sup>6</sup> G. Fritsch, "Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's," p. 236; Wood, "Natural History of Man," I, p. 349.

migrate temporarily to a new camping ground.<sup>1</sup> The Altaians in Siberia make a practical distinction between a hut which is portable (a felt hut) and one which is not so (a hut of bark or wood). After a death they abandon the latter, but carry the former away with them after it has been purified by the shaman.<sup>2</sup> In Panama and Darien they send the sick into the woods, just as in Persia they sent them into the wilderness, to die.<sup>3</sup> In Madagascar no one except the sovereign is allowed if ill to stay within the palace.<sup>4</sup> There are traces in Greece, Rome, China, and Corea of this custom of carrying dying persons out of the house.<sup>5</sup>

But in case the ghost should, despite of all precautions, make his way back from the grave, steps were taken to barricade the house against him. Thus in some parts of Russia and East Prussia an axe or a lock is laid on the threshold, or a knife is hung over the door,<sup>6</sup> and in Germany as soon as the coffin is carried out of the house all the doors and windows are shut, whereas so long as the body is still in the house the windows (and sometimes the doors) are left open to allow the soul to escape.<sup>7</sup> In some parts of England every bolt and lock in the house is unfastened, that the ghost of the dying man may fly freely away.<sup>8</sup>

But if primitive man knew how to bully he also knew how to outwit the ghost. For example, a ghost can only find his way

<sup>1</sup> E. H. Man, "Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands," pp. 74, 77.

<sup>2</sup> Radloff, "Aus Sibirien," I, p. 321. Cf. Klemm, "Culturgeschichte," III, p. 174. On the huts, see Radloff, p. 267 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Bancroft, "Native Races of the Pacific States," I, p. 781; Agathias, ii, 23.

<sup>4</sup> Ellis, "History of Madagascar," I, p. 242.

<sup>5</sup> Euripides, "Alcestis," v. 234 *sqq.* cf. 205; Scholiast on Aristophanes, "Lysistrata," v. 611; Seneca, "Epist.," I, xii, 3; Gray, "China," I, p. 279. In modern Greece the corpse is laid out in the entrance hall (Wachsmuth, "Das alte Griechenland im neuen," p. 108). In Corea no one is allowed to die on the *kang* (ordinary sleeping place), but is placed on a board (J. Ross, "History of Corea," p. 321).

<sup>6</sup> Ralston, "Songs of the Russian People," p. 318; Wuttke, "Deutsche Aberglaube," §§ 736, 766; Töppen, "Aberglaube aus Masuren," p. 108.

<sup>7</sup> Rochholz, "Deutscher Glaube und Brauch," I, p. 171; Schleicher, "Volks-thumliches aus Sonnenberg," p. 152; Sonntag, "Todtenbestattung," p. 169; Wuttke, §§ 737, 725; Gubernatis, "Storia comparata degli usi funebri in Italia e presso gli altri popoli Indo-Europei," p. 47; G. Lammert, "Volksmedizin und medizinischer Aberglaube in Bayern," pp. 103, 105, 106; F. Schmidt, "Sitten und Gebräuche," pp. 85, 92; Strackerjan, "Aberglaube und Sagen aus dem Herzogthum Oldenburg," II, p. 129; Tettau und Temme, "Volksagen," p. 285; A. Kuhn, "Märkische Sagen und Mährchen," p. 367; Nork, "Die Sitten und Gebräuche der Deutschen und ihrer Nachbarvölker," pp. 479, 482; Köhler, *op. cit.*, pp. 251, 254; F. Panzer, "Beitrag zur deutschen Mythologie," I, p. 263; Kuhn und Schwartz, *op. cit.*, p. 435. In Masuren, on the other hand, the doors and windows are left open for some time after the corpse has been carried out in case the ghost may be lingering in the house (Töppen, "Aberglauben aus Masuren," p. 108).

<sup>8</sup> Dyer, "English Folk-lore," p. 230; Brand, "Popular Antiquities," II, p. 231. Cf. Henderson, "Folk-lore of the Northern Counties," pp. 53, 56 *seq.*

back to the house by the way by which he left it.<sup>1</sup> This little weakness did not escape the vigilance of our ancestors, and they took their measures accordingly. The coffin was carried out of the house, not by the door, but by a hole made for the purpose in the wall, and this hole was carefully stopped up as soon as the body had been passed through; so that when the ghost strolled quietly back from the grave, he found, to his surprise, that there was no thoroughfare. The credit of this ingenious device is shared by Greenlanders, Norsemen, Hottentots, Bechuanas, Samoeds, Ojibways, Algonkins, Laosians, Hindoos, Tibetans, Siamese, Chinese, Balinese, and Fijians. These special openings, or "doors of the dead," are still to be seen in a village near Amsterdam, and they were common in some towns of Central Italy, as Perugia and Assisi.<sup>2</sup> In Lao this mode of exit is reserved for the bodies of women dying in childbirth,<sup>3</sup> the reason for which is apparent from the belief of the neighbouring Kakhyens that the ghosts of such women are changed into fearful vampires<sup>4</sup>—a villainous conceit very different from the knightly courtesy of the Aztecs, who allowed the souls of women who died in child-bed to take their places side by side with the brave who died in battle in the better land.<sup>5</sup> A trace of the same custom survives in Thüringen, where it is thought that the ghost of a man who has been hanged will return to the house

<sup>1</sup> For a similar reason you should never move a sleeper's body, for if you do the absent soul on its return will not be able to find its way back into the body and the sleeper will wake no more. See Strackerjan, "Aberglaube und Sagen aus dem Herzogthum Oldenburg," I, p. 378; *ib.* II, p. 114; Wuttke, "Deutscher Aberglaube," § 60; Köhler, "Volksbrauch im Voigtland," p. 501; Grohmann, "Aberglauben und Bräuche aus Böhmen und Mähren," p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Yule on Marco Polo, I, p. 188; Crantz, "Greenland," I, p. 237; Weinhold, "Altnordisches Leben," p. 476; Tylor, "Prim. Cult.," II, p. 26; Waitz, III, p. 199; Fritsch, "Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's," p. 335; Thunberg's "Account of the Cape of Good Hope," in Pinkerton's "Voyages and Travels," xvi, p. 142; Moffat, in Gardner, "Faiths of the World," I, p. 939; Bastian, "Mensch," II, p. 322; Klemm, "Culturgeschichte," II, pp. 221, 225; *ib.* III, p. 293; Sonntag, "Todtenbestattung," p. 51; "Relations des Jésuites," 1634, p. 23; Brinton, "Myths of the New World," p. 255; T. Williams, "Fiji and the Fijians," I, p. 197 (ed. 1860); C. J. Andersson, "Lake Ngami," p. 466; Gubernatis, "Usi funebri," p. 52; C. Bock, "Temples and Elephants," p. 262; Pallegoix, "Description du Royaume Thai ou Siam," I, p. 245; Bowring, "Kingdom and People of Siam," I, p. 222; J. Crawford, "History of the Indian Archipelago," II, p. 245; Lafitau, "Mœurs des Sauvages Américains," II, p. 401. An extraordinary variation of this custom is seen amongst the Jollofs on the Gambia, who break down the whole fence before they carry the dead out of the house (A. B. Ellis, "The Land of Fetish," p. 13). A dead Pope is carried out by a special door, which is then blocked up till the next Pope dies.

<sup>3</sup> C. Bock, *loc. cit.* Strictly speaking the body is taken out through a hole in the floor, for houses in Lao are built on posts at a height of five to eight feet from the ground (Bock, *op. cit.*, p. 304).

<sup>4</sup> J. Anderson, "Mandalay to Momien," p. 145.

<sup>5</sup> Brinton, "Myths of the New World," p. 263; Bancroft, "Native Races," III, p. 533.

if the body be not taken out by a window instead of the door.<sup>1</sup> In Burma the dead are carried out of a town by a gate reserved for the purpose.<sup>2</sup> The Siamese, not content with carrying the dead man out by a special opening, endeavour to make assurance doubly sure by hurrying him three times round the house at full speed—a proceeding well calculated to bewilder the poor soul in the coffin.<sup>3</sup>

The Araucanians adopt the plan of strewing ashes behind the coffin as it is being borne to the grave, in order that the ghost may not be able to find his way back.<sup>4</sup> With a like intent the Kakhyens returning from the grave scatter rice along the path.<sup>5</sup> The Tonga Islanders strewed sand about the grave.<sup>6</sup>

The very general practice of closing the eyes of the dead appears to have originated with a similar object; it was a mode of blindfolding the dead, that he might not see the way by which he was carried to his last home. At the grave, where he was to rest for ever, there was of course no motive for concealment; hence the Romans,<sup>7</sup> and apparently the Siamese,<sup>8</sup> opened the eyes of the dead man at the funeral pyre, just as we should unbandage the eyes of an enemy after conducting him to his destination. In Nuremburg the eyes of the corpse were actually bandaged with a wet cloth.<sup>9</sup> In Corea they put blinkers, or rather blinders, on his eyes; they are made of black silk, and are tied with strings at the back of his head.<sup>10</sup> The Jews put a potsherd and the Russians coins on each of his eyes.<sup>11</sup> The notion that if the eyes of the dead be not closed his ghost will return to fetch away another of the household, still exists in Bohemia, Germany, and England.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wuttke, § 756; Schleicher, p. 152. It was an old German law that the corpses of criminals and suicides should be carried out through a hole under the threshold (Grimm, "Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer," p. 726 *sqq.*).

<sup>2</sup> "The Burman," by Shway Yoe, II, p. 342.

<sup>3</sup> Pallegoix and Bowring as above. In some parts of Scotland and Germany the corpse used to be carried three times round the church (C. Rogers, "Social Life in Scotland," I, p. 167; Rochholz, I, p. 198).

<sup>4</sup> Klemm, "Culturgeschichte," V, p. 51; Wood, "Nat. Hist. of Man," II, p. 565.

<sup>5</sup> J. Anderson, "Mandalay to Momien," p. 144.

<sup>6</sup> Mariner, "Tonga Islands, I, p. 392.

<sup>7</sup> Pliny, "Nat. Hist.," xi, § 150. The reason assigned by Pliny is that the dead should be seen for the last time not by man but by heaven.

<sup>8</sup> C. Bock saw that the eyes of a dead man at the pyre were open (in Siam), and he says that in Lao (in Northern Siam) it is the custom to close the eyes of the corpse ("Temples and Elephants," pp. 58, 261).

<sup>9</sup> Lammert, "Volksmedizin," p. 103.

<sup>10</sup> J. Ross, "History of Corea," p. 325.

<sup>11</sup> Bodenschatz, "Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden," iv, p. 174; Gubernatis, "Usi Funebri," p. 50; Ralston, "Songs of the Russian People," p. 316.

<sup>12</sup> J. V. Grohmann, "Aberglaube," &c., p. 188; Lammert, "Volksmedizin," p. 106; Wuttke, § 725; Dyer, "English Folk-lore," p. 230; Schleicher, "Volksthümliches aus Sonnenberg," p. 152; Rochholz, "Deutscher Glaube und Brauch," I, p. 146.

With a similar object, the corpse is carried out of the house feet foremost, for if he were carried out head foremost his eyes would be towards the door and he might find his way back. This custom is observed and this reason is assigned for it in many parts of Germany and among the Indians of Chile.<sup>1</sup> Conversely in Persia when a man is setting out on a journey he steps out of the house with his face turned towards the door, hoping thereby to secure a safe return.<sup>2</sup> In Thüringen and some parts of the North of England it used to be the custom to carry the body to the grave by a roundabout way.<sup>3</sup> In Voigtland there are special "church roads" for carrying the dead to the graveyard; a corpse is never carried along the high road.<sup>4</sup> In Madagascar no corpse is allowed to be carried along the high road or chief thoroughfare of the capital.<sup>5</sup> In Burma a corpse is never carried towards the centre of a town, much less taken into it; if a man dies in the jungle and the funeral has to pass a village it skirts the outside of it.<sup>6</sup> The Chinese are not allowed to carry a corpse within the gates of a walled city.<sup>7</sup>

I venture to conjecture that the old Hawaiian, Roman, German, and Mandingo practice of burying by night<sup>8</sup> or in the dusk may have originally been intended, like the customs I have mentioned, to keep the way to the grave a secret from the dead man, and it is possible that the same idea gave rise to the practice of masking the dead—a practice common to the prehistoric inhabitants of Greece and to the Aleutian Islanders.<sup>9</sup> The Aztecs masked their dead kings, and the Siamese do so still.<sup>10</sup> Among the Shans the face of a dead chief is invariably covered with a mask of gold or silver.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wuttke, "Deutscher Aberglaube," § 736; Klemm, "Culturgeschichte," II, p. 101. On the other hand, in modern Egypt the corpse is carried out head foremost (Lane, "Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians," II, p. 291, *ed.* 1836.

<sup>2</sup> Monier's "Hajji Baba," c. i, *fin.*

<sup>3</sup> F. Schmidt, "Sitten und Gebräuche in Thüringen," p. 94. The English custom was verbally communicated to me.

<sup>4</sup> Köhler, "Volksbräuch im Voigtland," p. 258.

<sup>5</sup> Ellis, "History of Madagascar," I, p. 241.

<sup>6</sup> "The Burman: his Life and Notions," by Shway Yoe, II, p. 342 *seq.*

<sup>7</sup> Gray, "China," I, p. 323.

<sup>8</sup> Ellis, "Polynesian Researches," IV, p. 361 (*cf.* Cook's "Voyages," VII, p. 149 *seq.*, *ed.* 1809); Servius on Virgil, "*Æn.*," I, p. 186; F. Schmidt, *loc. cit.*; Mungo Park, "Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa," p. 414. Night burial was sometimes practised in Scotland (C. Rogers, "Social Life in Scotland," I, p. 161). In Benguela (West Africa) the corpse is burned at sundown (Waitz, "Anthropologie," II, p. 196).

<sup>9</sup> Schliemann, "Mycenæ," pp. 198, 219-223, 311 *seq.*; Bancroft, "Native Races of the Pacific States," I, p. 93. *Cf.* Miss A. W. Buckland in vol. xiv, p. 229, of this Journal. I regret that I have not seen the standard work of Bendorff, "Antike Gesichtshelme und Sepulcralmasken," Wien 1878.

<sup>10</sup> Bancroft, "Native Races," II, p. 606; Pallegoix, "Siam," I, p. 247.

<sup>11</sup> A. S. Colquhoun, "Amongst the Shans," p. 279.

To a desire to deceive the dead man I would also refer the curious custom amongst the Bohemians of putting on masks and behaving in a strange way as they returned from a burial.<sup>1</sup> They hoped, in fact, so to disguise themselves that the dead man might not know and therefore might not follow them. Whether the widespread mourning customs of smearing the body with ashes, mud, or paint, mutilating it by gashes, cutting off the hair or letting it grow, and putting on beggarly attire or clothes of an unusual colour (black, white, or otherwise), may not also have originated in the desire to disguise and therefore protect the living from the dead, I cannot here attempt to determine.<sup>2</sup> This much is certain, that mourning customs are always as far as possible the reverse of those of ordinary life. Thus at a Roman funeral the sons of the deceased walked with their heads covered, the daughters with their heads uncovered, thus exactly reversing the ordinary usage, which was that women wore coverings on their heads while men did not. Plutarch, who notes this, observes that similarly in Greece men and women during a period of mourning exactly inverted their usual habits of wearing the hair—the ordinary practice of men being to cut it short, that of women to wear it long.<sup>3</sup>

The objection, deeply rooted in many races, to utter the names of deceased persons,<sup>4</sup> sprang no doubt from a fear that the dead might hear and answer to his name. In East Prussia if the deceased is called thrice by his name he appears.<sup>5</sup> This reluctance to mention the names of the dead has modified whole languages. Thus among the Australians, Tasmanians, and Abipones, if the name of a deceased person happened to be a common name, *e.g.*, the name of an animal or plant, this name was abolished and a new one substituted for it.<sup>6</sup> During the residence of the Jesuit missionary Dobritzhofer amongst the Abipones, the name for tiger was thus changed three times.<sup>7</sup> Amongst the Indians of Columbia near relatives of the deceased often change their names, in the belief that the ghost will return if he hears the familiar names.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bastian, "Der Mensch in der Geschichte," II, p. 328.

<sup>2</sup> See note I at end.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, "Quæstiones Romanæ," p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Tylor, "Early History of Mankind," p. 142. Amongst some Indian tribes of North America whoever mentions a dead man's name may be compelled to pay a heavy fine to the relatives (Bancroft, "Native Races," I, p. 357, note).

<sup>5</sup> Wuttke, "Deutscher Aberglaube," § 754.

<sup>6</sup> Tylor, *op. cit.*, p. 144 *sqq.*

<sup>7</sup> Klemm, "Culturgeschichte," II, p. 99; Dobritzhofer, "The Abipones," II, p. 208 *sqq.*

<sup>8</sup> Bancroft, "Native Races," I, p. 248. Cf. Waitz, "Anthropologie," VI, p. 811. When a survivor bears the same name as the deceased he drops it during the time of mourning (Charlevoix, "Journal Historique d'un Voyage dans

While no pains were spared to prevent the dead man from returning from the grave, on the other hand precautions were taken that he should not miss the way to it. The kings of Michoacan were buried at dead of night, but the funeral train was attended by torch-bearers and preceded by men who swept the road, crying, "Lord, here thou hast to pass, see that thou dost not miss the way."<sup>1</sup> In many Wallachian villages no burial takes place before midday, because the people believe that if the body were buried before noon the soul might lose its way and never reach its place of rest. But if it is buried in the afternoon they think that the sun, descending to his rest, will guide the tired spirit to its narrow bed.<sup>2</sup>

"Soles occidere et redire possunt:  
Nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux,  
Nox est perpetua una dormienda."

I must pass lightly over the kindlier modes of barring the dead by providing for the personal comforts of the poor ghost in his long home. That the dead still think and feel in the grave is a very old opinion, the existence of which is attested by many customs as well as by the evidence of the poets, those lovers of the past, and by no poet more vividly than by Heine, where he tells us how the French grenadier lies in his quiet grave, listening, listening, till his ear catches the far-off thunder of the guns, and with a clatter of horse-hoofs and clash of steel the cavalry rides over his grave. Hades, or the common abode of all the dead, whether beneath the earth or in a far island of the sea, is probably the later dream of some barbaric philosopher, some forgotten Plato; and the partition of Hades into heaven and hell is certainly the latest, as it is possibly the last, development of the belief in a life hereafter.<sup>3</sup>

The nearly universal practice of leaving food on the tomb or of actually passing it into the grave by means of an aperture or tube is too well known to need illustration. Like the habit of dressing the dead in his best clothes,<sup>4</sup> it probably originated in

*l'Amerique Septentrionale*, II, p. 109; Lafitau, "Mœurs des Sauvages Ameriquains," II, p. 434).

<sup>1</sup> Bancroft, II, p. 621. Cf. Charlevoix, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> Schott, "Wallachische Märchen," p. 302. The custom is perhaps a relic of night burial. The reason assigned for it is too beautiful to be old. In Russia also the sun is regarded as *ψυχοπομπός*; but it is apparently enough if the burial takes place by daylight (Ralston, "Songs of the Russian People," p. 319).

<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to find the three strata of belief still clearly existing side by side in modern Greece. See B. Schmidt, "Das Volksleben der Neugriechen," p. 235 *sqq.*

<sup>4</sup> Charlevoix, "Journal Historique," II, p. 107; W. Radloff, "Aus Siberien," I, pp. 321, 379; Spenser St. John, "Life in the Forests of the Far East," I, p. 57; Klemm, "Culturgegeschichte," II, pp. 104, 225; *ib.* IV, p. 38; J. G. Scott, "France and Tongking," p. 97; Schoolcraft, "Indian Tribes," II, p. 68; *ib.* IV, 54; Wood, "Natural History of Man," I, p. 562; *ib.* II, 190, 512, 542;



the selfish but not unkindly desire to induce the perturbed spirit to rest in the grave and not come plaguing the living for food and raiment.<sup>1</sup> One instance, however, of the minute care with which the survivors will provide for the wants of the departed, in order that he may have no possible excuse for returning, I cannot refrain from mentioning. In the Saxon district of Voigtland, with its inclement sky, people have been known to place in the coffin an umbrella and a pair of goloshes.<sup>2</sup> Whether these utensils are meant for use in heaven or elsewhere is a question which I must leave to theologians.

A pathetic example is furnished by some Indian tribes of New Mexico, who drop milk from the mother's breast on the lips of her dead babe.<sup>3</sup> Similarly in Africa we hear of a Myoro woman who bore twins that died; so she kept two little pots to represent the children, and every evening she dropped milk from her own breast into them, lest the spirits of the dead babes should torment her.<sup>4</sup>

In the Mili Islands in the Pacific, after they have committed the body to the earth, they lade a small canoe with cocoa-nuts, hoist a sail, and send it out to sea, hoping that the soul will sail away with the frail bark and return no more.<sup>5</sup>

Bancroft, "Native Races," I, p. 86; "The Burman," by Shway Yoe, II, p. 338; P. Bouche, "La Côte des Esclaves," p. 213; Lafitau, "Mœurs des Sauvages Américains," II, p. 389; Schott, "Wallachische Mährchen," p. 302; Wachsmuth, *op. cit.*, p. 108; Taylor, "New Zealand," p. 218; Köhler, "Volksbrauch im Voigtlande," p. 252; Baron's "Description of the Kingdom of Tonqueen," in Pinkerton's "Voyages and Travels," IX, pp. 698, 700, 730. In modern Greece the corpse is arrayed in its best clothes, but at the grave these are entirely destroyed, or at least rendered valueless, by being snipped with scissors or saturated with oil ("Folk-lore Journal," II, p. 168 *sq.*). This may be (as the writer half suggests) a modern precaution against thieves. On the destruction of the property of the dead, see next note.

<sup>1</sup> The fear of the dead, which underlies all these burial customs, may have sprung from the idea that they were angry with the living for dispossessing them. Hence, rather than use the property of the deceased and thereby incur the anger of his ghost, men destroyed it. The ghost would then have no motive for returning to his desolated home. Thus we are told by the careful observer, Mr. G. M. Sproat, that the Ahts of Vancouver's Island "bury a man's personal effects with him, and burn his house, in the fear that if these were used, the ghost would appear and some ill consequences would follow." He adds: "I have not found that any articles are deposited in burying grounds with the notion that they would be useful to the deceased in an after time, with the exception of blankets" ("Scenes and Studies of Savage Life," p. 260). The idea that the souls of the things thus destroyed are despatched to the spirit-land (see Tylor, "Primitive Culture," I, p. 480 *sqq.*; and for an additional example of "killing" the things placed in the grave, see H. H. Johnston, "The River Congo," p. 246) is less simple and therefore probably later. For in the evolution of thought as of matter the simplest is the earliest.

<sup>2</sup> Köhler, "Volksbrauch im Voigtland," p. 441; Wuttke, § 734.

<sup>3</sup> Bancroft, I, p. 360; *cf.* III, 543.

<sup>4</sup> J. H. Speke, "Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile," p. 541.

<sup>5</sup> Waitz, V, ii, p. 152 *sq.* Gerland remarks that this is a remnant of the

Merely mentioning the customs of building a little hut for the accommodation of the soul, either on the grave or on the way to it,<sup>1</sup> and of leaving straw on the road, in the hope that the weary ghost will sit down on it and never get as far as the house,<sup>2</sup> I now come to two modes of barring the ghost which, from their importance, I have reserved to the last, I mean the methods of barring the ghost by fire and water.

First, by fire. After a funeral certain heathen Siberians, who greatly fear the dead, seek to get rid of the ghost of the departed by leaping over a fire.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, at Rome, mourners returning from a funeral stepped over fire,<sup>4</sup> and in China they sometimes do so to this day.<sup>5</sup> Taken in connection with the Siberian custom the original intention of this ceremony of stepping over fire at Rome and in China can hardly have been other than that of placing a barrier of fire between the living and the dead. But, as has been the case with so many other ceremonies, this particular ceremony may well have been practised long after its original intention was forgotten. For customs often live on for ages after the circumstances and modes of thought which gave rise to them have disappeared, and in their new environment new motives are invented to explain them. As might have been expected, the custom itself of stepping over fire often dwindled into a mere shadow of its former self. Thus the South Slavonians returning from a funeral are met by an old woman carrying a vessel of live coals. On these they pour water, or else they take a live coal from the hearth and fling it over their heads.<sup>6</sup> The Brahmins contented themselves with simply

Polynesian custom of sending the body (as well as the soul) out to sea. Cf. Turner, "Samoa," p. 306. The Norsemen sometimes disposed of their dead thus (Grimm, "Deutsche Mythologie," II, p. 692 sq.; Weinhold, *op. cit.*, pp. 479, 483 sq.; Rochholz, I, p. 174). The custom of burying the corpse in a canoe or boat is common to the Norsemen, Slavonians, Ostjaks, Indians of the Columbia River, and Polynesians (Grimm, *loc. cit.*; Weinhold, p. 495 sqq.; Ralston, *op. cit.*, p. 108; Brinton, "Myths of the New World," p. 265; Bastian, "Mensch," II, p. 331; Waitz, *loc. cit.* and VI, pp. 401, 405, 411).

<sup>1</sup> Chalmers and Gill, "Work and Adventure in New Guinea," p. 56; Klemm, "Culturgeschichte," II, p. 297; Bastian, "Mensch," II, p. 328; Waitz, "Anthropologie," II, p. 195; *ib.* III, p. 202; *ib.* V, ii, p. 153; *ib.* VI, pp. 686, 806, 807; Wood, "Natural History of Man," I, p. 574; Cook's "Voyages," IV, p. 62 seq. (ed. 1809); *ib.* I, p. 93 seq.; Bosman's "Guinea" in Pinkerton's "Voyages and Travels," XVI, p. 431; J. Leighton Wilson, "Western Africa," p. 171 (German translation); J. Anderson, "Mandalay to Momien," p. 144; Cameron, "Across Africa," I, p. 49; Marco Polo, i, c. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Wuttke, "Deutscher Aberglaube," § 739; Töppen, "Aberglauben aus Masuren," p. 109.

<sup>3</sup> Meiners, "Geschichte der Religionen," II, p. 303.

<sup>4</sup> Festus, s.v. *aqua et igne*.

<sup>5</sup> Gray, "China," I, pp. 287, 305.

<sup>6</sup> Ralston, "Songs of the Russian People," p. 320.

touching fire,<sup>1</sup> and in Ruthenia the mourners merely look steadfastly at the stove or place their hands on it.<sup>2</sup> The Arabs of old, it may be noted, adopted much the same means to prevent the return of a living man whom they disliked; when he departed they lit a fire behind his back and cursed him.<sup>3</sup>

So much for the barrier by fire. Next for the barrier by water. The Wends of Geislitz make a point of passing through running water as they return from a burial; in winter, if the river is frozen, they break the ice in order to wade through the water.<sup>4</sup> In modern Mytilini and Crete if a man will not rest in his grave they dig up the body, ferry it across to a little island, and bury it there.<sup>5</sup> The Kythniotes in the Archipelago have a similar custom, except that they do not take the trouble to bury the body a second time, but simply tumble the bones out of a bag and leave them to bleach on the rocks, trusting to the "silver streak" of sea to imprison the ghost.<sup>6</sup> In many parts of Germany, in modern Greece, and in Cyprus, water is poured out behind the corpse as it is being carried from the house, in the belief that, if the ghost returns, he will not be able to cross it.<sup>7</sup> Sometimes, by night, the Germans pour holy water before the door; the ghost is then thought to stand and whimper on the further side.<sup>8</sup> The inability of spirits to cross water might be further illustrated by the Bagman's ghastly story in Apuleius, the Goblin Page in the "Lay of the Last Minstrel," the witch in "Tam O'Shanter," and other instances.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Monier Williams, "Religious Life and Thought in India," pp. 283, 288.

<sup>2</sup> Ralston, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> D. J. Lassen Rasmussen, "Additamenta ad historiam Arabum ante Islamismum," p. 67.

<sup>4</sup> K. Haupt, "Sagenbuch der Lausitz," I, p. 254.

<sup>5</sup> B. Schmidt, "Das Volksleben der Neugriechen," p. 168.

<sup>6</sup> J. T. Bent, "The Cyclades," p. 441 *seq.*

<sup>7</sup> A. Kuhn, "Märkische Sagen," p. 368; Temme, "Volksagen der Altmark," p. 77; Nork, "Sitten und Gebräuche der Deutschen und ihrer Nachbarvölker," p. 479; Wuttke, § 737; Rochholz, I, p. 177; Lammert, "Volksmedizin," p. 105; Töppen, "Aberglauben aus Masuren," p. 108; Panzer, "Beitrag zur deutschen Mythologie," I, p. 257; "Folk-lore Journal," II, p. 170; Wachsmuth, "Das alte Griechenland im neuen," p. 119; cf. Tettau und Temme, "Die Volksagen Ostpreussens, Litthauens und Westpreussens," p. 286.

<sup>8</sup> Wuttke, "Deutscher Aberglaube," § 748; Rochholz, "Deutscher Glaube und Brauch," I, p. 186.

<sup>9</sup> Apuleius, "Metam." i, 19, cf. 13; "Lay of the Last Minstrel," iii, 13. Cf. Giraldus Cambrensis, "Topographie of Ireland," c. 19; Grimm, "Deutsche Mythologie," III, p. 434; Theocritus xxiv, 92; Homer, "Odysseus," xi, 26 *seq.*; Henderson's "Folk-lore of the Northern Counties," p. 212. Observe that the inability of spirits to cross water is not absolute, but is strictly analogous to that of living men. The souls, like the bodies of men, can cross water by a boat or bridge, or by swimming. For instances of the soul of the sleeper leaving his body and crossing a brook by means of a sword laid across it, see Paulus, "Historia Langobardorum," iii, c. 34; Grimm, "Deutsche Sagen," 451. Again the souls of the dead regularly pass by bridge or boat the River of Death,

Another way of enforcing the water barrier is to plunge into a stream, in the hope of drowning, or, at least, washing off, the that sombre stream which has flowed in the imagination of so many nations of the world. For evidence see Grimm, "Deutsche Mythologie," p. 692 *sqq.*; K. Simrock, "Handbuch der deutschen Mythologie," p. 255 *sqq.*; Rochholz, "Deutscher Glaube und Brauch," I, p. 173 *sqq.*; Tylor, "Primitive Culture," II, p. 94; Brinton, "Myths of the New World," p. 265 *sqq.*; B. Schmidt, "Das Volksleben der Neugriechen," p. 236 *sqq.*; Sonntag, "Tottenbestattung," p. 164; Bancroft, "Native Races," III, pp. 519, 538, 543; Ralston, "Songs of the Russian People," p. 107; Monier Williams, "Religious Thought and Life in India," p. 290; Dennys, "Folk-lore of China," p. 24. Amongst the Kasi Indians, when the funeral happens to pass a puddle, they lay a straw over it for the soul of the dead man to use as a bridge (Dennys, *loc. cit.*). Polynesian ghosts can swim (Bastian, "Die heilige Sage der Polynesier," p. 52; Turner, "Nineteen Years in Polynesia," p. 235). On the other hand the idea of a journey by land appears in the Norse, German, Prussian, and Californian custom of shoeing the dead (Grimm, "Deutsche Mythologie," II, p. 697; K. Simrock, *op. cit.*, p. 127; K. Weinhold, "Altnordisches Leben," p. 494; Dasent, "Burnt Njal," I, p. cxxii; Rochholz, I, p. 186; Sonntag, "Tottenbestattung," p. 171; Töppen, "Aberglauben aus Masuren," p. 107; Bancroft, "Native Races," I, p. 569; Brinton, "Myths of the New World," p. 250). In Bohemia, on the contrary, no shoes are put in the grave, because, if they were, the ghost would be obliged to walk the earth till they were worn out (Grohmann, "Aberglauben," &c., p. 197). The custom of placing a coin in the mouth of the corpse has prevailed in ancient Greece (Lucian, "De Luctu," 10), ancient Italy (Marquardt, "Das Privatleben der Römer," I, p. 338 *sq.*), amongst the Franks (K. Weinhold, "Altnordisches Leben," p. 493); in modern Greece, Thessaly, Macedonia, Asia Minor (Wachsmuth, "Das alte Griechenland im neuen," p. 117 *sqq.*; B. Schmidt, "Das Volksleben der Neugriechen," p. 236 *sqq.*), Albania (Hahn, "Albanesische Studien," I, p. 151), France (Vrëto, "Mélanges Neohelleniques," p. 30, referred to by B. Schmidt, *loc. cit.*), Germany (Grimm, "Deutsche Mythologie," II, p. 694, *id.* III, p. 441; Wuttke, "Deutscher Aberglaube," § 734; F. Schmidt, "Sitten und Gebräuche in Thüringen," p. 91; Rochholz, I, 189 *sqq.*), Burma (Forbes, "British Burma," p. 93; "The Burman," by Shway Yoe, II, p. 338), Lao (C. Bock, "Temples and Elephants," p. 361), among the Kakhyens (J. Anderson, "Mandalay to Momien," p. 143), in China (Gray, "China," I, p. 281), among the Hindus (Monier Williams, "Religious Thought and Life," p. 296), Madagas of Southern India (Marshall, "Travels among the Todas," p. 172), and in Yucatan (Bancroft, "Native Races," II, p. 800). The idea that this money in the dead man's mouth is to pay the ferry across the River of Death occurs in Italy, Greece, Asia Minor, Germany, Burma, among the Kakhyens, and in Yucatan. In Asior Minor the money is called *περῆτικιον*, in Burma *Kādo ākākā*, both meaning "ferry-money," like the old Greek *ναῦλον*, *πορθμήιον*. (At Komiakè in Naxos the old name *ναῦλον* is still retained, but it is applied, not to a coin, but to a little wax cross placed on the lips of the corpse. Bent, "The Cyclades," p. 363). In Arachoba on Parnassus it is thought to be a bridge-toll, an idea probably imported into Greece by the Turks, as Schmidt suggests. In some parts of Germany the notion is that if the deceased has hidden a treasure the coin in his mouth will prevent him returning. In Lao it is to pay a fine in the spirit-world. The Hindus suppose that it keeps at bay the ghostly ministers of death; hence it is inserted in the mouth of the dying, and to make sure of having it in the hour of need a Hindu in good health will have gold inserted in his teeth. In Corea the mouth of the dead is filled with boiled *whangmi*, three holeless pearls, and a piece of jade (J. Ross, "History of Corea," p. 324 *sq.*). In Tonquin the common people put three grains of rice in the mouth of the corpse; wealthy families put one or more precious stones (J. G. Scott, "France and Tongking," p. 97); Baron tells us that persons of quality put small pieces of gold and silver together with seed pearls, in the belief that this would secure the spirit respect in the other

ghost. Thus among the Matamba negroes a widow is bound hand and foot by the priest, who flings her into the water several times over, with the intention of drowning her husband's ghost, who may be supposed to be clinging to his unfeeling spouse.<sup>1</sup> In Angola, for a similar purpose, widows adopt the less inconvenient practice of ducking their late husbands.<sup>2</sup> In New Zealand all who have attended a funeral betake themselves to the nearest stream and plunge several times head under, in the water.<sup>3</sup> In Fiji the sextons always washed themselves after a burial.<sup>4</sup> In Tahiti all who had assisted at a burial fled precipitately and plunged into the sea, casting also in the sea the garments they had worn.<sup>5</sup> All who had helped to bury a king of Michoacan bathed afterwards.<sup>6</sup> Amongst the Mosquito Indians all persons returning from a funeral undergo a lustration in the river.<sup>7</sup> In Madagascar the chief mourner returning from the funeral immediately washes himself.<sup>8</sup> In North Guinea, after a corpse has been buried, the bearers rush to the water and wash themselves thoroughly before they return to the town.<sup>9</sup>

But the barrier by water, like the barrier by fire, often dwindled into a mere stunted survival. Thus, after a Roman funeral it was enough to carry water three times round the persons who had been engaged in it and to sprinkle them with

world and save him from want ("Description of the Kingdom of Tonqueen" in Pinkerton's "Voyages and Travels," ix, p. 698). In China the things inserted in the mouth vary in value with the rank of the deceased; grains of paddy or seeds of three different kinds are sometimes inserted. In Yucatan corn as well as money is put in the mouth. In Wallachia the coin is placed in the hand of the corpse (Schott, "Wallachische Mährchen," p. 302); and so in Masuren, where the dead is at the same time addressed in these words, "Now you have got your pay, so don't come back again" (Töppen, "Aberglauben aus Masuren," p. 108). The Slavonians used to put money in the grave to pay the passage of the spirit across the Sea of Death, and Russian peasants at a funeral still throw small coins into the grave (Ralston, "Songs of the Russian People," p. 107 *sq.*); the coin is sometimes put in the hand of the corpse (*ib.*, p. 315). The Norsemen also put a piece of money in the grave (Weinhold, *loc. cit.*). The original custom may have been that of placing food in the mouth, for which in after times valuables (money or otherwise) were substituted, that the dead might buy his own food.

<sup>1</sup> Sonntag, "Todtenbestattung," p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> *ib.*, p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> Yate, "New Zealand," p. 137; Taylor, "New Zealand and its Inhabitants," p. 224.

<sup>4</sup> T. Williams, "Fiji and the Fijians," I, p. 191.

<sup>5</sup> Ellis, "Polynesian Researches," I, p. 403.

<sup>6</sup> Bancroft, "Natives Races," II, p. 621.

<sup>7</sup> *ib.* I, p. 744.

<sup>8</sup> Ellis, "History of Madagascar," I, p. 238.

<sup>9</sup> J. L. Wilson, "Western Africa," c. 17 (p. 171 of the German translation. I have not seen the original. The English of this passage is given in Gardner's "Faiths of the World," I, p. 938).

the water.<sup>1</sup> Modern Jews, as they leave the graveyard, wash their hands in a can of water placed at the gate; before they have done so they may not touch anything, nor may they return to their houses.<sup>2</sup> In modern Greece, Cappadocia, and Crete, persons returning from a funeral wash their hands.<sup>3</sup> In Samoa they wash their faces and hands with hot water.<sup>4</sup> In ancient India it was enough merely to touch water.<sup>5</sup> In China, on the fifth day after a death, the mourners wash their eyes and sprinkle their faces three times with water.<sup>6</sup> In ancient Greece, so long as a corpse was in the house a vessel of water stood before the street-door, that all who left the house might sprinkle themselves with it.<sup>7</sup> Note that in this case the water had to be fetched from another house, water taken from the house in which the corpse lay would not do. The significance of this fact I shall have occasion to point out presently.

When considered along with the facts I have mentioned, it can hardly be doubted that the original intention of this sprinkling with water was to wash off the ghost who might be following from the house of death; and, in general, I think we may lay down the rule that wherever we find a so-called purification by fire or water from pollution contracted by contact with the dead, we may assume with much probability that the original intention was to place a physical barrier of fire or water between the living and the dead, and that the conceptions of pollution and purification are merely the fictions of a later age, invented to explain the purpose of a ceremony of which the original intention was forgotten. The discussion of the wider question, whether all forms of so-called purification may not admit of an analogous explanation, must be reserved for another occasion. Here I will merely point to two kinds of purification which are most obviously explicable on the hypothesis that they are modes of barring spirits. The first of these is the purification for manslaughter. The intention of this ceremony was probably to rid the slayer of the vengeful spirit of the slain, the ghosts of all persons who come by a violent end being especially vicious. In accordance with this view we find purification exacted when the slain man was

<sup>1</sup> Virgil, "*Æneid*," vi, 228. Servius on this passage speaks of carrying *fire* round similarly.

<sup>2</sup> Bodenschatz, "*Die Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden*," iv, p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> Wachsmuth, "*Das alte Griechenland im neuen*," p. 120; Bent, "*The Cyclades*," p. 221.

<sup>4</sup> Turner, "*Samoa*," p. 145.

<sup>5</sup> Monier Williams, "*Religious Life and Thought in India*," pp. 283, 288.

<sup>6</sup> Gray, "*China*," I, p. 305.

<sup>7</sup> Pollux, viii, 65; Hesychius and Suidas, s.v. ἀρδάνιον; cf. Wachsmuth, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

an enemy of the tribe as well as when he was a member of it. Thus when a Pima Indian slays an Apache, he has to undergo a strict and solitary purification in the woods for sixteen days.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Bechuana warriors returning from battle wash themselves and their weapons with solemn ceremony.<sup>2</sup> Again, since the savage has no hesitation in deciding affirmatively the question whether animals have souls, purification is found to be practised for the slaughter of beasts as well as of men. Thus a Damara hunter returning successful from the chase takes water in his mouth and ejects it three times over his feet and also in the fire of his own hearth.<sup>3</sup> Amongst the Koossa Kaffirs the first man who receives a wound in a fight with a lion is made "unclean" by it, though at the same time he is regarded as a hero. The idea plainly is, that by wounding this man first the lion showed that he had an especial grudge at him, and this grudge the lion's ghost will not be likely to forget. Hence, following the usual Kaffir mode of purification, the man is shut up in a small hut, away from every one else for four days, after which he is purified; and, having now given the slip to the ghost, he is marched back to the village, surrounded by a guard of honour.<sup>4</sup> My interpretation of this custom will not seem extravagant when we remember the punctilious politeness with which a savage treats the spirits of the beasts he has killed.<sup>5</sup> The second kind of purification to which I will here refer is the passing of men and cattle through the need-fire during the prevalence of a plague. This custom is explained most simply by supposing that people thereby intended to interpose a barrier between themselves and their cattle on the one side and the maleficent spirits of the plague on the other.<sup>6</sup> One more kind of purification—that of women after childbirth—will be referred to in the course of this paper.

Such, then, are some of the modes of excluding or barring the ghost. Before quitting the subject, however, I wish to observe that as the essence of these proceedings was simply the erection of a barrier against the disembodied spirit, they might be, and actually were, employed for barring spirits in other connections. Thus, for example, since to early man death means the

<sup>1</sup> Bancroft, "Native Races," I, p. 553. For the enmity of the Pimas and Apaches, see *id.* p. 542.

<sup>2</sup> G. Fritsch, "Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's," p. 201.

<sup>3</sup> C. J. Andersson, "Lake Ngami," p. 224.

<sup>4</sup> Lichtenstein, "Travels in Southern Africa," I, p. 257 *sq.*

<sup>5</sup> Tylor "Primitive Culture," I, p. 468 *sq.*

<sup>6</sup> See Grimm, "Deutsche Mythologie," p. 603, *sqq.*; Tylor, "Early History of Mankind," p. 256 *sq.*; W. Mannhardt, "Der Baumkultus der Germanen und ihrer Nachbarstämme," p. 518 *sqq.*; U. Jahn, "Die deutschen Opfergebräuche bei Ackerbau und Viehzucht," p. 26 *sqq.*

departure of the soul out of the body, it is obvious that the very same proceedings which serve to exclude the soul after it has left the body, *i.e.*, to bar the ghost, may equally well be employed to bar the soul *in* the body, *i.e.*, to prevent its escaping; in other words, they may be employed to prevent a sick man from dying, in fact they may be used as cures. Thus the Chinese attempt to frighten back the soul of a dying man into his body by the utterance of wild cries and the explosion of crackers, while they rush about with extended arms to arrest its progress.<sup>1</sup> The use of water as a cure is perhaps best illustrated by the Circassian treatment of the sick. It is well known that according to primitive man the soul of a sleeper departs from his body to wander far away in dreamland; indeed the only distinction which early man makes between sleep and death is that sleep is a temporary, while death is a permanent absence of the soul. Obviously then, on this view, sleep is highly dangerous to a sick man, for if in sleep his soul departs, how can we be sure that it will come back again? Hence in order to ensure the recovery of a sick man one of the first requisites is to keep him from sleeping. With this intention the Circassians will dance, sing, play, and tell stories to a sick man by the hour. Fifteen to twenty young fellows, naturally selected for the strength of their lungs, will seat themselves round his bed, and make night hideous by singing in chorus at the top of their voices, while from time to time one of them will create an agreeable variety by banging with a hammer on a ploughshare which has been thoughtfully placed for the purpose by the sick man's bed. But if, in spite of these unremitting attentions, the sick man should have the misfortune to fall asleep—mark what follows—they immediately dash water over his face.<sup>2</sup> The intention of this latter proceeding can hardly be doubtful: it is a last effort to stop the soul about to take flight for ever.<sup>3</sup> So among the Abipones, a dying man

<sup>1</sup> Huc, "L'Empire Chinois," II, p. 241 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Klemm, "Culturgeschichte," IV, p. 34 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> The reason for throwing water on the face is that the soul is usually thought to issue either by the mouth or the nose. The Romans, Franks, Germans, English, Slavonians, Mexicans, and Quichés believed that it issued through the mouth (Ovid, "Met.," xii, 424 *sq.*, where the man is dying of a wound in the breast; Paulus, "Historia Langobardorum, iii, 34; Wuttke, "Deutscher Aberglaube," § 60; Grimm, "Deutsche Mythologie," p. 690 *sq.*; *id.*, "Deutsche Sagen," 461; Dyer, "English Folk-lore," p. 214; Grohmann, "Aberglauben und Gebräuche aus Böhmen und Mähren," pp. 60, 194; Tylor, "Primitive Culture," II, p. 29; Bancroft, "Native Races," III, p. 315, *cf.* II, p. 799). The ancient Greeks believed that the soul issued through the mouth or through a gaping wound (Homer, "Iliad," ix, 409; xiv, 518; xvi, 505; *cf.* Buchholz, "Die Homerischen Realien," II, ii, 284 *sqq.*). The modern Greeks believe that Charos, the Death-god, draws the soul out of the mouth; but if the man is wicked or resists his fate, Charos (so say the Arachobites) cuts open his breast with a sword, for the soul has its seat



is surrounded by a crowd of old crones brandishing rattles, stamping and yelling, while every now and then one of them

under the left breast (B. Schmidt, "Das Volksleben der Neugriechen," p. 228 sq.). The Jews, Arabs, and Battas of Sumatra believe that the soul issues through the nostrils (Bastian, "Mensch," II, p. 322; *id.*, "Die Seele," p. 52; Marsden, "History of Sumatra," p. 386); but if a man dies of a wound, the Arabs (like the Homeric Greeks) believe that the soul escapes through the wound (communicated by Professor Robertson Smith). The Tongquinese used to throw a handkerchief over the face of the dying in order to catch his soul (Richard's "History of Tonquin," in Pinkerton's "Voyages and Travels," ix, p. 730). The modern Tongquinese hang a film of cotton before the nostrils by a silken thread (J. G. Scott, "France and Tongking," p. 96. Mr. Scott supposes that this is to verify the fact of death. It is possible that the old custom may have been thus rationalised). The inhabitants of the Marquesas Islands are apparently of opinion that the soul may pass out indifferently either by the nose or the mouth, for when a man is at his last gasp the nearest relative holds both the nose and the mouth of the dying man with the kind intention of preventing the escape of the soul (Waitz, "Anthropologie," vi, p. 397). Among the Seminoles of Florida, when a mother died in childbirth, the baby was held over her face to receive her parting spirit (Brinton, "Myths of the New World," p. 271). But the soul has other gateways or posterns. The Chuwasché think that it goes out at the back of the head (Bastian, "Mensch," II, p. 322). The Tibetans believe that it issues by the top of the head, but its escape has to be facilitated by cutting off a lock of hair from the crown of the head; this is done by a lama (Orazio della Penna di Billi, "Brief Account of the Kingdom of Tibet," in Bogle and Manning's "Tibet," p. 338 sq.; *cf.* Meiners, "Geschichte der Religionen," II, p. 726 sq.). A similar theory is revealed by the practice of the Kánikárs (a hill tribe of Travancore); when a man is sick to death, his top-knot is cut off by the headman of the village, and his friends then take their last farewell of him (Samuel Mateer, "Native Life in Travancore," p. 68). The Greeks and Romans appear to have had at one time the same belief and custom (Euripides, "Alcestis," 74 sqq., 101 sq.; Virgil, "Æneid," iv, 698 sqq.; *cf.* Macrobius, "Saturn," V, 19. The lock so cut off may be that referred to in "Etymologicum Magnum," s.v. ἀπεσκολυμένος. *κόλλυς γὰρ ἡ θρίξ ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄκρου, ἣν ἐφύλλαττον ἀκούρευτον, θεοῖς ἀνατιθέντες*), and we may perhaps say the same of the Canadian Indians, for when one of them died a lock from his head was cut off and presented to the nearest relative ("Relations des Jésuites," 1634, p. 24; *cf.* Lafitau, "Mœurs des Sauvages Américains," II, p. 403). This lock may have been the scalp-lock which it was a point of honour to leave unshorn that the conqueror might cut it off as a trophy (Catlin, "North American Indians," II, p. 24). The Tahitians believed that at death the soul was drawn out of the head by a god (Ellis, "Polynesian Researches," I, p. 396—the part of the head is not specified). Amongst the Kalmucks an incision is sometimes made in the skin to enable the soul to escape (Bastian, "Mensch," II, p. 342, *cf.* 343). In Macassar for a similar purpose the priest rubs the middle finger of the dying man, because the soul has its seat there (*ib.*, p. 322). The Hindu belief (as set forth in the Garuḍa-purāṇa) is that the soul of a bad man goes downwards and emerges like the excreta, but that the soul of a good man issues through a suture at the top of the skull. Hence the skull of the corpse is cracked with a cocoa-nut or a piece of sacred wood to let out the soul. Professor Monier Williams heard of a sorcerer at Lahore who made it his business to collect skulls which had not been properly cracked and so retained the souls of the deceased inside (Monier Williams, "Religious Thought and Life in India," pp. 291, 297, 299; Bastian, "Die Seele," p. 30). The Nasairiens believe that when a man is hanged his soul cannot pass out through the mouth; hence they will give the Turks large sums for the privilege of being impaled instead of hung (Bastian, "Mensch," II, p. 322). On the belly of an old Equimaux, Ross remarked an incision which had been clearly made after death, but the reason

flings water over his face so long as there is breath left in his body.<sup>1</sup> The same practice of throwing water over or washing the sick, is observed also in China, Siam, Siberia, Hungary, Ruthenia, Carniola, and amongst the Koossas of South Africa.<sup>2</sup>

By analogy, the origin of the Kaffir custom of kindling a fire beside a sick person,<sup>3</sup> the Russian practice of fumigating him,<sup>4</sup> and the Persian practice of lighting a fire on the roof of a house where any one is ill,<sup>5</sup> may perhaps be found in the intention of interposing a barrier of fire to prevent the escape of the soul. For with regard to the custom of lighting a fire on the roof, it is a common belief that spirits pass out and in through a hole in the roof.<sup>6</sup> In the same way I would explain the extraordinary custom in Lao and Siam of surrounding a mother after childbirth with a blazing fire, within or beside which she has regularly to stay for weeks after the birth of the child.<sup>7</sup> The

of which he could not ascertain (Klemm, "Culturgeschichte," II, p. 225); it may have been made to allow the soul to escape. For the soul is sometimes represented as lodged in the belly; so at Smyrna they say "my soul aches," meaning their belly aches, and a stomach plaster is dignified by the name of *ἀντρίφυγο* (B. Schmidt, "Das Volksleben der Neugriechen," p. 229).

<sup>1</sup> Dobritzhofer, "Account of the Abipones, II, p. 266. Amongst the Indians of California, if a sick man falls asleep they knock him about the head till he wakes, with the sincere intention of saving his life (Bancroft, "Native Races," I, p. 569). Kaffirs, when circumcised at the age of fourteen, are not allowed to sleep till the wound has healed (Campbell, "Travels in South Africa," p. 514). In Venice, when a woman has given birth to a child, a female attendant stays by her for some hours in order to keep her from sleeping, and to drive off a certain witch called Pagana (Gubernatis, "Storia comparata degli usi natalizi in Italia e presso gli altri popoli Indo-Europei," p. 147).

<sup>2</sup> Gray, "China," I, p. 278; Pallegoix, "Siam," I, p. 294; Bowring, "Siam," I, p. 121; Klemm, "Culturgeschichte," X, p. 254; "Folk-lore Journal," II, p. 102; Ralston, "Songs of the Russian People," p. 315; Wood, "Natural History of Man," I, p. 189; Lichtenstein, "Travels in Southern Africa," I, p. 258. In Tisee a wet shirt is put on the patient ("Folk-lore Journal," I, p. 167).

<sup>3</sup> Lichtenstein, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Ralston, "Songs of the Russian People," p. 380.

<sup>5</sup> Klemm, "Culturgeschichte," VII, p. 142.

<sup>6</sup> Rochholz, "Deutscher Glaube und Brauch," I, p. 172; Wuttke, "Deutscher Aberglaube," §§ 725, 755; Bastian, "Mensch," II, pp. 319, 323; *id.*, "Die Seele," p. 15; Ralston, "Songs of the Russian People," p. 314; J. T. Bent, "The Cyclades," p. 437; Dennys, "Folk-lore of China," p. 22; Lammert, "Volksmedizin," p. 103; B. Schmidt, "Das Volksleben der Neugriechen," p. 149; "Relations des Jésuites," 1634, p. 23. On the Slave Coast the roof of the house is often taken off after a death (P. Bouche, "La Côte des Esclaves," p. 214).

<sup>7</sup> Carl Bock, "Temples and Elephants," p. 259 *sq.*; Pallegoix, "Siam," I, p. 223; Bowring, "Siam," I, p. 120. In Burma a similar custom prevails, but the time is shorter, about seven days (Forbes, "British Burma," p. 66; "The Burman," by Shway Yoe, I, p. 1 *sq.*). Amongst the modern Parsis a fire should be kept up three days and nights after the birth of the child (J. Darmesteter, "Zend-Avesta," I, p. xciii). In Madagascar a fire is kept up in the room day and night frequently for a week after the birth (Ellis, "History of Madagascar," I, p. 151, *cf.* p. 149). It appears that it is only in Lao and Abyssinia that the fire actually surrounds the bed, and in Lao it is not kept up constantly, but is repeated day after day. But

object, I take it, is to hem in the fluttering soul at this critical period with an impassable girdle of fire. In Abyssinia immediately after the birth the woman is laid on a wooden bed, which is surrounded by blazing herbs, and here she is held fast by stout young fellows.<sup>1</sup>

Conversely, among the Kaffirs a widow must stay by herself beside a blazing fire for a month after her husband's death, no doubt in order to get rid of his ghost.<sup>2</sup> If any confirmation of this interpretation of the Siamese practice were needed, it would seem to be found in the fact that, during her imprisonment within the fiery circle, the woman washes herself daily for a week with a mixture of salt and water,<sup>3</sup> for salt, or salt and water, is a regular specific against spirits.<sup>4</sup>

Another of these two-edged weapons which can be used

putting the intermittent circular fire of Lao beside the continual side fire of Siam and Burma, and taking into account the Malagasy, Abyssinian, Scotch, and Albanian practices (see below), we are perhaps justified in inferring that the original form of the custom was a continual and continuous circle of fire. A survival of this custom is seen in the old Scotch practices of whirling a fir-candle three times round the bed on which the mother and child lay (C. Rogers, "Social Life in Scotland," I, p. 135), and of carrying fire morning and night round the mother till she was churched, and the child till it was christened (Martin's "Description of the Western Islands of Scotland," in Pinkerton's "Voyages and Travels," III, p. 612). In Sonnenberg a light must be kept constantly burning after the birth, or the witches will carry off the child (A. Schleicher, "Volksthümliches aus Sonnenberg," p. 144). Amongst the Albanians a fire is kept constantly burning in the room for forty days after the birth; the mother is not allowed to leave the house all this time, and at night she may not leave the room; and any one during this time who enters the house by night is obliged to leap over a burning brand (Hahn, "Albanesische Studien," I, p. 149). In the Cyclades no one is allowed to enter the house after sunset for many days after birth (Bent, "The Cyclades," p. 181), and in modern Greece generally the woman may not enter the church for forty days after the birth (Wachsmuth, "Das alte Griechenland im neuen," p. 73 sq.; Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 180), just as in ancient Greece she might not enter a temple during the same period (Censorinus, "De die natali," xi, 7). For similar restrictions in many parts of the world, see Gubernatis, "Usi natalizi," c. 14, and especially Ploss, "Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der Völker," I, p. 49 sqq.; *id.*, "Das Weib in der Natur-und-Völkerkunde," II, p. 434 sqq.

<sup>1</sup> Ploss, "Das Weib," II, p. 434.

<sup>2</sup> Lichtenstein, "Travels in Southern Africa," I, p. 259. This too is probably the object of the dreadful ordeal through which widows among the Minas on the Slave Coast have to pass. After being shut up for six months in the room where their husband is buried, they receive a severe beating and undergo an agonising fumigation, after which they bathe in the sea (P. Bouche, "La Côte des Esclaves," p. 218 sq.).

<sup>3</sup> Bock, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

Amongst the Moors of Morocco when a person goes from one room to another in the dark he carries salt in his hand as a protection against ghosts (A. Leared, "Morocco and the Moors," p. 275). For other "spiritual" uses of salt, see W. G. Black, "Folk-Medicine," p. 131; Henderson, "Folk-lore of the Northern Counties," p. 53; Brand, "Popular Antiquities," II, p. 234 sq.; Wuttke, "Deutscher Aberglaube," §§ 118, 733; Rochholz, "Deutscher Glaube und Brauch," I, p. 186; Strackerjan, "Aberglaube und Sagen aus dem Herzogthum Oldenburg," § 232; Theocritus, xxiv, 95 sq. Salt is said to be particularly distasteful to the Devil (Moresin and Reginal Scott, quoted by Brand, *loc. cit.*).

either to save the soul of the dying or to repel the ghost of the dead is fine clothes. We saw that the corpse is dressed in his best clothes in order to save the ghost the trouble of coming to fetch them. Conversely when a Mongol is sick and like to die, all his finery is spread round about him in the hope of tempting the truant soul back to its deserted tabernacle, while a priest in full canonicals reads aloud a list of the pains and penalties of hell and of the risks run by souls which wilfully absent themselves from their bodies.<sup>1</sup> Thus, placed on the dying, fine clothes are a bait to lure the soul back; placed on the dead, they are a bribe to it to stay away. The same custom of dressing a dying person in fine clothes is observed by the Chinese, the Todas of Southern India, and the Greenlanders.<sup>2</sup>

Of course it is possible that the fiery barriers described above may also be intended to keep off evil spirits, and this is the second supplementary use to which the proceedings for barring ghosts may be turned. This would appear to have been the object with which, in Siberia, women after childbirth leaped several times over a fire,<sup>3</sup> exactly as we saw that in Siberia mourners returning from a funeral leap over a fire for the express purpose of shaking off the spirit of the dead.

In China, the streets along which a funeral is to pass are previously sprinkled with holy water, and even the houses and warehouses along the street come in for their share, in case some artful demon might be lurking in a shop, ready to pounce out on the dead man as he passed.<sup>4</sup> Special precautions are also taken by the Chinese during the actual passage of the funeral; in addition to the usual banging of gongs and popping of crackers, an attempt is made to work on the cupidity of the demons. With this view, bank-notes are scattered, regardless of expense, all along the road to the grave. The notes, I need hardly observe, are bad, but they serve the purpose, and while the ingenuous demons are engaged in the pursuit of these deceitful riches, the soul of the dead man, profiting by their distraction, pursues his way tranquilly behind the coffin to the grave.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bastian, "Die Seele," p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Gray, "China," I, p. 278; Marshall, "Travels among the Todas," p. 171; Crantz, "Greenland," I, p. 237.

<sup>3</sup> Meiners, "Geschichte der Religionen," II, p. 107. Women before and after childbirth are thought to be especially exposed to the influence of malignant spirits.

<sup>4</sup> Gray, "China," I, p. 299. The custom of closing the houses and shops before which a funeral passes (such as prevails in modern Greece, Wachsmuth, "Das alte Griechenland im neuen," p. 120) may have originally been meant to exclude the ghost.

<sup>5</sup> Huc, "L'Empire Chinois," II, p. 249 *sq*; Gray, *loc. cit.*; Doolittle, "Social Life of the Chinese," p. 153 (ed. Paxton Hood). There is a popular impression

A similar custom is observed in Corea.<sup>1</sup>

In Annam it is the restless spirits of the unburied dead (Co-hon) who lie in wait for funerals. To appease them sham gold and silver leaf are strewn about the road to the grave, and occasionally sheets of paper are burned containing pictures of everything that the most exacting ghost could desire, coats, boots, &c., together with prayers to the saints that they would be pleased in mercy to take away these weary wanderers of earth to the eternal peace of heaven.<sup>2</sup>

In the Hervey Islands, in the South Pacific, after a death the ghosts or demons are fought and soundly pummelled by bodies of armed men, just as the Samogitians and old Prussians used to repel the ghostly squadrons by sword-cuts in the air.<sup>3</sup> New weapons, again, may be turned to old purposes, as when a Kakhyen is borne to his last resting-place amid a rolling fire of musketry.<sup>4</sup>

In Christian times bells have been used to repel evil spirits; this, of course, was the intention of the passing bell.<sup>5</sup> In

that the ghost is always in the coffin. This, however, is an error. Huron ghosts, broadly speaking, walk in front of the coffin (*"Relations der Jésuites,"* 1636, p. 104), Chinese ghosts (as we have just seen) walk behind it, while some Prussian ghosts exhibit a marked preference for riding on the top of it (Töppen, *"Aberglauben aus Masuren,"* p. 108; on the next page we read of the ghost following the corpse). The Coreans place a chair beside the corpse for the ghost to sit on (J. Ross, *"History of Corea,"* p. 326). In Wallendorf, when the father of the family dies and the corpse is being carried out of the house, they place a chair and a towel for the convenience of the ghost (Töppen, *op. cit.*, p. 111). Some Negro ghosts in North Guinea are undoubtedly in the coffin, for they struggle in it as they are being carried to the grave, and the bearers have the greatest difficulty in running them in (J. L. Wilson, *"Western Africa,"* c. 17). Can this be the origin of the custom which the Burmese have of dancing with the coffin on their shoulders every now and then on the way to the grave? (Forbes, *"British Burma,"* p. 95 *sq.*; *"The Burman,"* by Shway Yoe, II, p. 342).

<sup>1</sup> Ross, *"History of Corea,"* p. 319.

<sup>2</sup> J. G. Scott, *"France and Tongking,"* pp. 99, 101 *sqq.* If the "prowling devils" for whose special benefit the funeral is preceded by men with sticks are identical with the Co-hon, it would appear that the Annamese have not a robust faith in the unassisted efficacy of prayer.

<sup>3</sup> Gill, *"Myths and Songs from the South Pacific,"* p. 269; Bastian, *"Mensch,"* II, p. 341.

<sup>4</sup> J. Anderson, *"Mandalay to Momien,"* p. 143. In Tonquin a great army used annually to muster and open a terrific fire of artillery and small arms on the ghosts (Baron's *"Description of the Kingdom of Tonqueen,"* in Pinkerton's *"Voyages and Travels,"* ix, p. 696).

<sup>5</sup> Brand, *"Popular Antiquities,"* II, p. 202; Forbes Leslie, *"Early Races of Scotland,"* II, p. 503. In Neusohl (North Hungary) the use of the bell is somewhat peculiar. When a sick man is near his end, they ring a little bell at his head, that the parting soul may linger a little to listen to the chime. When the man is dead, they still ring the bell, but go further and further off, then out of the door, and round about the house, still ringing the bell. A message is then sent that the church bell may begin to toll. (Th. Vernaleken, *"Mythen und Sagen des Volkes in Oesterreich,"* p. 311.) There is or was a similar custom in

Scotland funerals used to be preceded by a man ringing a bell.<sup>1</sup> The idea that the sound of brass or iron has power to put spirits to flight prevailed also in classical antiquity, from which it may have been inherited by mediæval Christianity.<sup>2</sup> We may perhaps see the germ of the passing bell in the kettle which the Spartan women beat up and down the streets on the death of a king.<sup>3</sup> The Moquis of Arizona exorcise evil spirits by the ringing of bells;<sup>4</sup> and at Port Moresby, in New Guinea, when the church bell was first used, the natives returned thanks to the missionaries for having driven away the ghosts.<sup>5</sup>

I have still one observation to make on the means employed to bar ghosts, and it is this. The very same proceedings which were resorted to *after* the burial for the purpose of barring the ghost were *avoided* so long as the corpse was in the house, from fear, no doubt, of hurting and offending the ghost. Thus we saw that an axe laid on the threshold or a knife hung over the door have power, after the coffin has been carried out, to exclude the ghost, who could not enter without cutting himself. Conversely, so long as the corpse is still in the house, the use of sharp-edged instruments should be avoided in case they might wound the ghost. Thus for seven days after a death, the corpse being still in the house, the Chinese refrain from the use of knives and needles, and even of chopsticks, eating their food with their fingers.<sup>6</sup> So at the memorial feasts to which they invited the dead, the Russians ate without using knives.<sup>7</sup> In Germany and Bohemia a knife should not be left edge upward, lest it hurt the ghosts or the angels.<sup>8</sup> They even say that if you see a knife on its back and a child in the fire, you should run to the knife before the child.<sup>9</sup> Again, we saw that the Romans and Germans swept the ghost, without more ado, out of his own house. On the other hand, the negroes on the Congo considerably abstain

Bohemia (Rochholz, "Deutscher Glaube und Brauch," I, p. 179). The object appears to be to drive or lead the ghost out of the house, just as at the *Lemuria* a Roman household ejected the ghosts by the tinkling of brass (Ovid, "Fasti," V, 441 *sqq.*).

<sup>1</sup> Rogers, "Social Life in Scotland," I, p. 163; E. J. Guthrie, "Old Scottish Customs," p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> Lucian, "Philopseudes," 15; Ovid, *loc. cit.* Cf. Fritsche on Theocritus, ii, 36; Prof. Robertson Smith in the "Journal of Philology," vol. xiii, No. 26, p. 283, *note*.

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus, vi, 58.

<sup>4</sup> J. G. Bourke, "The Snake Dance of the Moquis of Arizona," p. 258.

<sup>5</sup> Chalmers and Gill, "Work and Adventure in New Guinea," p. 260.

<sup>6</sup> Gray, "China," I, p. 288.

<sup>7</sup> Ralston, "Songs of the Russian People," p. 321.

<sup>8</sup> Grimm, "Deutsche Mythologie," III, pp. 441, 454; Tettau and Temme, "Volkssagen Ostpreussens Litthauens und Westpreussens," p. 285; Grohmann, "Aberglauben," &c., p. 198.

<sup>9</sup> Grimm, *op. cit.*, p. 469.

for a whole year from sweeping the house where a man has died, lest the dust should annoy the ghost.<sup>1</sup> On the day of the funeral the Albanians refrain from sweeping the place where the corpse lay, though by a curious contradiction some one regularly sits down three times on the spot.<sup>2</sup> Again, we have seen the repugnance of ghosts to water. Hence when a death took place the Jews used to empty all the water in the house into the street, lest the ghost should fall in and be drowned.<sup>3</sup> Similarly in some parts of Calabria (Castrovillari and Nocera) and Germany all the water vessels are emptied at death.<sup>4</sup> In Burma, when the coffin is being carried out, every vessel in the house that contains water is emptied.<sup>5</sup> In some parts of Bohemia, after a death, the water-butt is emptied, because if the ghost happened to bathe in it, and any one drank of it afterwards, he would be a dead man within the year.<sup>6</sup> We can now appreciate the significance of the fact mentioned above, that in Greece the lustral water before the door of a house where a dead body lay had always to be fetched from a neighbouring house.<sup>7</sup> For if the water had been taken from the house of death, who could tell but that the ghost might be disporting himself in it?<sup>8</sup> Hence among the Jews all open vessels in the chamber of death were "unclean."<sup>9</sup> In Pomerania, even *after* a burial, no washing is done in the house for some time lest the dead man should be

<sup>1</sup> Bastian, "Mensch," II, p. 323.

<sup>2</sup> Hahn, "Albanesische Studien," I, p. 152.

<sup>3</sup> Buxtorf, "Synagoga Judaica," pp. 699, 712 (ed. 1712); Bodenschatz, "Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden," iv, p. 178; J. Allen, "Modern Judaism," p. 435 (ed. 1830); Gardner, "Faiths of the World," I, p. 676. The reason assigned for this custom by the most learned Talmudists is that the water is unclean because the Angel of Death has washed his dripping sword in it. Contrast the vivid spiritualism of this explanation with the rapid rationalism of the view that the emptying of the water is a means of announcing the death. Truly it is vain to bottle the new wine of reason in old customs.

<sup>4</sup> Vincenzo Dorsa, "La tradizione Greco-latina negli usi e nelle credenze popolari della Calabria citeriore," p. 93; Rochholz, "Deutscher Glaube und Brauch," I, p. 176. On the other hand at San Pietro in Calabria, when a man is dying, all the vessels in the house are filled with water, for the benefit of the thirty souls of deceased relations who are supposed to gather in the house in order to accompany the spirit of the dying man to the other world (Dorsa, *op. cit.*, p. 92 *sqq.*).

<sup>5</sup> Forbes, "British Burma," p. 95.

<sup>6</sup> Grohmann, "Aberglauben," &c., p. 193.

<sup>7</sup> In modern Greece a vessel with water stands beside the corpse, and all who approach it sprinkle themselves, but the refinements of bringing the water from another house and placing it outside the door appear to be forgotten (Wachsmuth, "Das alte Griechenland im neuen," p. 109).

<sup>8</sup> In a similar way we may explain the rule in East Prussia, Schleswig, Lausitz, and Voigtland, that while the corpse is in the house nothing should be lent or given out of it (Wuttke, "Deutscher Aberglaube," § 790; Köhler, "Volksbrauch, Aberglauben, Sagen, &c., im Voigtland," p. 441).

<sup>9</sup> Numbers xix, 15.

wet in his grave.<sup>1</sup> Amongst the old Iranians no moisture was allowed to rest on the bread offered to the dead, for of course if the bread was damp the ghost could not get at it.<sup>2</sup>

Once more, we saw that fire was a great stumbling-block to ghosts. Hence in Calabria and Burma the fires in the house are extinguished when a death takes place, doubtless (originally) in case they should burn the ghost.<sup>3</sup> The same custom used to be observed in the Highlands of Scotland, in Germany, and apparently in Rome.<sup>4</sup> So in old Iran, no fire was allowed to be used in the house for nine days (in summer for a month) after a death,<sup>5</sup> and in later times every fire in the Persian empire was extinguished in the interval between the death and burial of a king.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wuttke, "Deutscher Aberglaube," § 737.

<sup>2</sup> Spiegel, "Eränsische Alterthumskunde," III, p. 705.

<sup>3</sup> Vincenzo Dorsa, "La tradizione Greco-latina negli usi e nelle credenze popolari della Calabria citeriore," pp. 20, 88; Forbes, "British Burma," p. 94.

<sup>4</sup> Brand, "Popular Antiquities," II, p. 235; James Logan, "The Scottish Gael," II, p. 387; Preller, "Römische Mythologie," II, p. 159; Apuleius, "Metam.," ii, 24; Juvenal, iii, 214, "tunc odimus ignem." In North Germany there is no baking in the house on the day of a death (Kuhn und Schwartz, "Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen, und Gebräuche," p. 435). The reason of the custom appears to be forgotten in Oldenburg, where the fire is only extinguished when the corpse is carried out (Strackerjan, "Aberglaube und Sagen aus dem Herzogthum Oldenburg," I, p. 154; Wuttke, § 609).

<sup>5</sup> Vendidad, V, 39 *sqq.*; Spiegel, "Eränsische Alterthumskunde," III, p. 706; W. Geiger, "Ostiranische Kultur im Alterthum," p. 258.

<sup>6</sup> Diodorus, xvii, 114. On the other hand it has been a common practice to place a light beside the corpse for the convenience of the ghost. But it would appear that people have been somewhat puzzled how to light and warm the ghost without burning him. Thus some modern Jews place a burning candle beside the corpse in order to light the soul; but others maintain that a lighted candle near the body causes acute pain to the disembodied spirit (Gardner, "Faiths of the World," p. 677; Buxtorf, "Synagoga Judaica," p. 699; Bodenschatz, "Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden," iv, p. 171). In Germany, so long as the body is above ground a light must be kept constantly burning beside it, for which the reason assigned in Voigtland is that the soul may not walk in darkness (Wuttke, "Deutscher Aberglaube," § 729; Köhler, "Volksbrauch im Voigtlande," p. 442; A. Birlinger, "Volksthümliches aus Schwaben," p. 404; F. Schmidt, "Sitten und Gebräuche in Thüringen," p. 87). In England candles used to be burned, beside or on the corpse (Brand, "Popular Antiquities," II, p. 234; Henderson, "Folk-lore of the Northern Counties," p. 54). In Russia a lighted candle is usually placed beside the corpse or in its hand (Ralston, "Songs of the Russian People," p. 314). In modern Greece when a death takes place candles or lamps are immediately lighted and kept burning three days and three nights, for during that time the soul of the deceased is supposed to linger in or to return to the house ("Folk-lore Journal," II, p. 168; Bent, "The Cyclades," p. 221. Cf. Wachsmuth, "Das alte Griechenland im neuen," pp. 107, 108, 119). In China candles are kept burning round the coffin "to light the spirit of the dead on his way," or "to give light to the spirit which remains with the corpse" (Doolittle, "Social Life of the Chinese," p. 126; Dennys, "Folk-lore of China," p. 21; Gray, "China," I, p. 285). In Corea, when an offering is made by night to the corpse lying in the house, a candle is lit that the ghost may see what he is getting (J. Ross, "History of Corea," p. 324. On page 319 it is



This leads me to speak of the custom of fasting after a death. The Jews may eat no flesh and drink no wine so long as the corpse is in the house ; they may not eat at all in the same room with the corpse, but if there is only one room in the house they may eat in it if they interpose a screen, so that in eating they do not see the corpse.<sup>1</sup> The Kaffirs are bound to fast from the time of

said that candles are kept burning beside the corpse day and night). Again we hear of fires being lit (generally on the grave) either to warm the ghost or to light him on his way to the spirit world. Thus in the island of Ruk and in some parts of Australia a fire is kept burning on the grave for some time "that the soul may warm himself" (Waitz, "Anthropologie," VI, pp. 686, 807. Cf. Tylor, "Primitive Culture," I, p. 484 note). In Western Africa the Krumen keep up a fire before the house of the deceased "that his spirit may warm itself" (Wood, "Natural History of Man," I, p. 616). In Ashiraland a fire is kept up in the cemetery beside the corpse of a chief for weeks (Du Chailu, "Journey to Ashango-land," p. 133). The Winnebagoes, Algonkins, and Mexicans kept up a fire on the grave for four nights in order to light the spirit to the other world (Schoolcraft, "Indian Tribes," IV, p. 55 ; Brinton, "Myths of the New World," p. 257 ; Longfellow, "Hiawatha," xx). The Mintira kindle a fire on the grave that the ghost may not be cold (Bastian, "Die Seele," p. 110). Those of the Indians near the mouth of the Russian River who bury their dead keep up fires on the grave and make great noises, in order to keep off the evil spirit who lies in wait for the soul (Bancroft, "Native Races," III, p. 523). Some Californian Indians keep a fire burning near the grave for several nights, for which one reason assigned is that it scares away the devil, and another is that it helps to light the ghost in its precarious passage across a greasy pole to heaven (Bancroft, I, p. 357). The maid-servants maintained a fire on the grave of Hruha for three days (K. Schwenk, "Slawische Mythologie," p. 325). The Caribs made a great fire round the grave and sat there addressing speeches to the dead (Rochefort, "Histoire naturelle et morale des Isles Antilles," Rotterdam 1665, p. 567). The Indians of Guiana make a fire on the grave and celebrate a feast there (Im Thurn, "Among the Indians of Guiana," p. 225). The Andaman Islanders make a fire on the grave and leave beside it a shell with water and some article that belonged to the deceased (E. H. Man, "The Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands," p. 76). On Pitt Island, Kingmill group, in the Pacific, a fire was kept continually burning in the house during all the time (four months to two years) that the corpse was in it (Waitz, "Anthropologie," V, ii, p. 155 ; Wood, "Natural History of Man," II, p. 382). In Vate or Efet (one of the New Hebrides) a fire was kindled on the grave to enable the soul to rise to the sun ; if this was not done, the soul went to the dreary lower regions of Pakasia (Turner, "Samoa," p. 335). In Samoa a number of fires were kept up on the grave of a great chief during the night for ten days after the funeral ; in the house where he lay or out in front of it fires were kept up all night. "The common people had a similar custom. After burial they kept a fire blazing in the house all night, and had the space between the house and the grave so cleared that a stream of light went forth all night from the fire to the grave" (Turner, *ib.*, p. 149). The last-mentioned custom may have been meant to show the ghost the way either to or from the grave. To this I shall have to recur shortly. The Aztecs burned the clothing, weapons, and some of the furniture of the deceased, in order that the heat of the fire might protect him against the bitter cutting wind that met him on his way to the land of souls (Klemm, "Culturgeschichte," V, p. 50).

<sup>1</sup> Bodenschatz, "Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden," iv, p. 177. The Jewish rule is to bury a man the day he dies (*ib.*, p. 172 ; Buxtorf, "Synagoga Judaica," p. 703). From Buxtorf (*op. cit.*, p. 706) it appears that the prohibition to eat flesh and drink wine extends for seven days after the death.

the death till after the burial,<sup>1</sup> and the same rule is or was observed by certain tribes of North American Indians.<sup>2</sup> The negroes of the Gold Coast fast long and severely after a death.<sup>3</sup> There is a German belief that if any one eats bread while a corpse is in the house his teeth will fall out.<sup>4</sup> In modern Persia a fast of eight days is observed after a death.<sup>5</sup> In India a son is allowed only one meal a day during the mourning for his father; a Brahman must continue this fasting for ten days.<sup>6</sup> According to another authority, a Hindoo family is not allowed to eat so long as a corpse is in the house.<sup>7</sup> In Corea during the first day of mourning no food is eaten by the family mourners; sons and grandsons of the deceased eat nothing for three, less near relations for two, days.<sup>8</sup> During the mourning for the Kings of Michoacan no corn was ground, no fires lighted, no business transacted; all the people remained at home and fasted.<sup>9</sup> When a chief died among the Guaycurus (an Indian tribe of Paraguay), the tribe abstained from eating fish, their principal dainty.<sup>10</sup> Amongst the Mbayas, another South American tribe, the women and slaves refrained from flesh and observed deep silence during mourning.<sup>11</sup> The Samoans commonly fasted during mourning; they ate nothing during the day, but had a meal at night.<sup>12</sup> So amongst the Jews the chivalrous David fasted till evening in honour of his gallant enemy Abner<sup>13</sup>—an ancient parallel to the minute guns which in the War of Independence the Americans fired at the close of a desperate battle, when an English General was buried on the field, just as the French guns paid funeral honours to Sir John Moore on the battlefield of Coruña.<sup>14</sup>

It might, perhaps, be supposed that this practice of fasting was a direct consequence of the extinction of fires, which, as we have seen, sometimes took place after a death, and there are facts which seem at first sight to favour this supposition. Thus the Chinese, though they are not allowed to cook in the house for

Another authority speaks of a fast from the moment of death till after the burial (J. Allen, "Modern Judaism," p. 439).

<sup>1</sup> Wood, "Natural History of Man," I, p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> Charlevoix, "Journal Historique," II, p. 108; Waitz, "Anthropologie," III, p. 196.

<sup>3</sup> Waitz, "Anthropologie," II, p. 194.

<sup>4</sup> Wuttke, "Deutscher Aberglaube," § 735, *cf.* 740.

<sup>5</sup> Meiners, "Geschichte der Religionen," II, p. 702.

<sup>6</sup> S. C. Bose, "The Hindoos as they are," p. 254.

<sup>7</sup> Sonnerat, "Reise," I, pp. 74, 79, referred to by Knobel on Numbers xix. J. Ross, "History of Corea," p. 322.

<sup>8</sup> Bancroft, "Native Races," II, p. 622.

<sup>9</sup> Charlevoix, "Histoire du Paraguay," I, p. 73.

<sup>10</sup> Klemm, "Culturgeschichte," II, p. 101.

<sup>11</sup> Turner, "Nineteen Years in Polynesia," p. 228; *id.*, "Samoa," p. 145.

<sup>12</sup> 2 Samuel iii, 35.

<sup>13</sup> Napier, "History of the Peninsular War," I, p. 500.

seven days after a death, are not prohibited from eating food which has been prepared elsewhere; indeed during this time of mourning their wants are regularly supplied by their neighbours.<sup>1</sup> In Florida the family was thus supplied by friends for three months.<sup>2</sup> On the evening of mourning (which is usually also the evening of the burial, the burial taking place on the day of death) a Jew may not eat his own food, but is supplied with food by his friends.<sup>3</sup> Amongst the Albanians there is no cooking in the house for three days after a death, and the family is fed by friends.<sup>4</sup> The Greeks of the Cyclades consider it wrong to cook or perform household offices in the house of mourning, so friends and relatives bring food and lay the "bitter table," as it is called.<sup>5</sup> But this explanation will not suit the German superstition that while the passing bell is tolling no one within hearing should eat.<sup>6</sup> For here the prohibition evidently extends to all the food in the neighbourhood. The key to the solution of this problem will perhaps be found in the Samoan usage. We are told that in Samoa, "while a dead body is in the house, no food is eaten under the same roof; the family have their meals outside or in another house. Those who attended the deceased are most careful not to handle food, and for days were fed by others as if they were helpless infants."<sup>7</sup> Observe here, firstly, that the objection is not to all eating, but only to eating under the same roof with the dead; and, secondly, that those who have been

<sup>1</sup> Gray, "China," I, p. 287 *seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Waitz, "Anthropologie," III, p. 196.

<sup>3</sup> Buxtorf, "Synagoga Judaica," p. 707; Bodenschatz, "Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden," iv, p. 178.

<sup>4</sup> Hahn, "Albanesische Studien," I, p. 151. Hahn forgot to inquire whether the fires in the house are extinguished, but he inclines to think that they are (*ib.*, p. 199).

<sup>5</sup> T. H. Bent, "The Cyclades," pp. 197, 221.

<sup>6</sup> Sonntag, "Totdenbestattung," p. 176. In its present form the superstition applies to the bell which rings for the funeral, but it seems hardly rash to assume that it originally applied to the passing bell. The same belief exists in New England ("Folk-lore Journal," II, p. 24). The reason assigned for the rule in Germany is that if you eat, your teeth will be hollow, in New England that you will have toothache. See next note.

<sup>7</sup> Turner, *supra cit.* The punishment inflicted by the household god for a violation of this rule was supposed to be baldness and the loss of teeth—a curious coincidence with the reason assigned for the corresponding German and New England rule. The prohibition laid on those who had been in contact with the dead to touch food with their hands was a regular taboo in Polynesia and New Zealand. See Ellis, "Polynesian Researches," I, p. 403; Mariner, "Tonga Islands," I, p. 142, *note*; Polack, "Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders," I, p. 66 *seqq.*; Taylor, "New Zealand," p. 163; "Old New Zealand," by a Pakeha Maori, p. 124 *seqq.* (p. 105 *seqq.*, ed. 1884); Yate, "New Zealand," p. 85. The same rule seems to have prevailed amongst the Aleutian Islanders and the Jews, except that amongst the former it applied only to widows (Waitz, "Anthropologie," III, p. 316; Bastian, "Mensch," III, p. 81; Jeremiah xvi, 7, "Neither shall men break bread for them in mourning," which is the reading of the Revised Version, but the marginal reading of the Authorised).

in contact with the dead may eat, but may not touch their food. Now considering that the ghost could be cut, burned, drowned, bruised with stones, and squeezed in a door (for it is a rule in Germany not to slam a door on Saturday for fear of jamming a ghost)<sup>1</sup> it seems not unreasonable to suppose that a ghost could be eaten, and if we make this supposition I venture to think we have a clue to the origin of fasting after a death. People, in fact, originally refrained from eating just in those circumstances in which they considered that they might possibly in eating have devoured a ghost. This supposition explains why, so long as the corpse is in the house, the mourners may eat outside of the house, but not in it. Again, it explains why those who have been in contact with the dead and have not yet purified themselves (*i.e.*, have not yet placed a barrier between themselves and the ghost) are not allowed to touch the food they eat; obviously the ghost might be clinging to them and might be transferred from their person to the food, and so eaten.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wuttke, "Deutscher Aberglaube," § 752.

<sup>2</sup> The probability of this explanation is at first sight somewhat diminished when we find that the prohibition to partake of food indoors was not confined to cases where there was a corpse in the house, but applied to all persons who, from whatever cause, were under a taboo. Hence a chief, who was always taboo ("Old New Zealand," p. 94), never under any circumstances ate in his house (Shortland, "Maori Religion and Mythology," p. 28; Taylor, "New Zealand," pp. 165, 168; Yate, "New Zealand," p. 87). A discussion of the ideas at the root of the taboo system would lead me too far, but I may indicate a line of argument by which the presumption raised by the fact just stated against the theory in the text may perhaps be rebutted, if not a contrary presumption raised in its favour. The infringement of a taboo was supposed to bring sickness and death on the guilty person ("Old New Zealand," p. 95 *sqq.*; Shortland, *op. cit.*, p. 31; Mariner, "Tonga Islands," I, pp. 142 *note*, 194; Klemm, "Culturgeschichte," III, p. 373). But sickness, according to the Maoris, was produced by an *atua* slipping down the throat of a man and devouring his vitals, and the aim of the medicine-man was therefore to expel the *atua* (Taylor, "New Zealand," p. 135, *cf.* pp. 137, 170; Polack, "Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders," I, p. 263 *sq.*, *cf.* p. 234; Shortland, *loc. cit.*). Now the *atus* were ancestral spirits of chiefs (Polack, I, p. 51; *cf.* Taylor, p. 135 *sqq.*), and would, when they visited the earth, naturally stay in the chief's house, who was himself an *atua* (Taylor, p. 352); hence any one who ate in the chief's house would run the risk of swallowing an *atua*, and thereby of falling sick and dying, which was exactly the effect supposed to be produced by the violation of a taboo. Consistency, however, is as little characteristic of savage as of civilised man; hence we need not be surprised to find that with this theory of sickness a Maori warrior would nevertheless gouge out and swallow the eyes of a chief whom he had slain, hoping thus to appropriate his *atua*, which resided in the eyes (Taylor, *loc. cit.*). When a Natchez had killed his first foe or made his first prisoner, he ate no flesh for six months, lest the ghost of his slain enemy should kill him (Meiners, "Geschichte der Religionen," II, p. 150 *sq.*). Part of the purification undergone by a Pima, after killing an Apache, was a fast of sixteen days; only after the fourth day was he allowed to drink a little pinole (Bancroft, "Native Races," I, p. 553, referred to above, p. 81). The Caribs are said to have fasted rigorously *after* the body had been buried (Rochefort, "Histoire Naturelle et Morale des Isles Antilles," p. 569, ed. 1665). Why they did not do so before, it is not easy to see.

This theory further explains the German superstition mentioned above, that no one within hearing should eat while the passing bell is tolling. For the passing bell is rung when a soul is issuing for the last time from its mortal tabernacle, and if any one in the neighbourhood were at this moment to eat, who knows but that his teeth might close on the passing soul? This explanation is confirmed by the companion superstition that no one should sleep while the passing bell is tolling, else will his sleep be the sleep of death.<sup>1</sup> Put into primitive language, this means that as the soul quits the body in sleep, if it chanced in this its temporary absence to fall in with a soul that was taking its eternal flight, it might, perhaps, be coaxed or bullied into accompanying it, and might thus convert what had been intended to be merely a ramble into a journey to that bourne from which no traveller returns.

All this time, however, Plutarch has been waiting for his answer, but, perhaps, as he has already waited two thousand years, he will not object to be kept in suspense for a very few more minutes. I have already detained you too long, and for the sake of brevity in what remains I will omit all mention of the particular usages on a comparison of which my answer is based, and will confine myself to stating in the briefest way their general result.

We have seen the various devices which the ingenuity of early man struck out for the purpose of giving an "iron welcome to the dead." In all of them, however, it was presupposed that the body was in the hands of the survivors and had been by them securely buried; that was the first and most essential condition, and if it was not fulfilled no amount of secondary precautions would avail to bar the ghost.

But what happened when the body could not be found, as when the man died at sea or abroad? Here the all-important question was, What could be done to lay the wandering ghost? For wander he would, till his body was safe under the sod, and by supposition his body was not to be found. The case was a difficult one, but early man was equal to it. He buried the

<sup>1</sup> Sonntag, "Totdenbestattung," p. 176, who says, "sonst stirbt man bald," but I cannot doubt that the original belief was as stated in the text, for it is a common belief in Germany that when a death takes place all sleepers in the house should be immediately roused or they will never wake again (Wuttke, "Deutscher Aberglaube," § 726). This again confirms my view that the bell during the ringing of which no one must eat or sleep was originally not the funeral, but the passing bell. The very cattle in the stalls and the bees in the hives are wakened after a death or they too will die (Wuttke, *loc. cit.*; Panzer, "Beitrag zur deutschen Mythologie," II, p. 293). In Scotland it was an old custom to allow no one in a house to sleep when a sick man was near his end (C. Rogers, "Social Life in Scotland," I, p. 152.)

missing man in effigy,<sup>1</sup> and according to all the laws of primitive

<sup>1</sup> The practice of burying in effigy prevailed in ancient Greece (and apparently ancient Italy), Mexico, and Samoa, and it is still preserved in more or less perfect forms in modern Greece, Italy, Albania, India, China, and Vancouver's Island. (1) In Chariton iv, ch. 1, an effigy of a missing man is carried on a bier, and it is said that it was an ancient Greek custom to give rites of sepulture to those whose bodies were not to be found (*καὶ τοὺς ἀφανεῖς τάφοις κοσμεῖν*). Euripides tells us that when a man had been drowned at sea his friends at home buried him *κενοῖσιν ἐν πέπλων ὑδάσμασιν* (Euripides, "Helene," 1243), which seems to mean that an image of him was made up with clothes; this was laid on a bier, and taken out to sea, where, along with offerings, it was thrown overboard. But it is not easy to say whether this was really a Greek custom or only a dramatic stratagem. (2) In Rome, burial of the absent took place according to certain solemn rites (Servius on Virgil, "Æneid," vi, 366). Cf. Apuleius, "Metamorphos.," I, c. 6, "At vero domi tuæ iam defletus et conclamatus es; liberis tuis tutores iuridici provincialis decreto dati; uxor persolutis feralibus officiis luctu et maerore diuturno deformata," &c. (3) In ancient Mexico, when a trader died in a far country the relations at home made a puppet of candlewood, adorned it with the usual paper ornaments, mourned over it, burned it, and buried the ashes in the usual way. Similarly soldiers who fell in battle were buried in effigy. Bancroft, "Native Races," II, p. 616 sq. (4) In Samoa the relations spread out a sheet on the beach near where the man had been drowned, or on the battlefield where he had fallen; then they prayed, and the first thing that lighted on the sheet (grasshopper, butterfly, or whatever it might be) was supposed to contain the soul of the deceased and was buried with all due ceremony. Turner, "Samoa," p. 150 sq. (5) In modern Greece, when a man dies abroad, a puppet is made in his likeness, and dressed in his clothes; it is laid on the bed, and mourning is made over it. Wachsmuth, "Das alte Griechenland im neuen," p. 113. (It is not, however, said that this puppet is actually buried. Mr. T. H. Bent witnessed at Mykonos a formal lamentation for an absent dead man, but where the bier would have stood there was an empty space. T. H. Bent, "The Cyclades," p. 222 sqq.) (6) A similar custom of mourning over an effigy is observed in some parts of Calabria. Vincenzo Dorsa, "La Tradizione Greco-latina negli usi e nelle credenze popolari della Calabria Citeriore," p. 93. (7) In Albania, when a man dies abroad all the usual lamentations are made at home as if the body were present; the funeral procession goes to the church, but in place of the bier a boy walks carrying a dish on which a cracknel is placed over some boiled wheat. This dish is set in the middle of the church, and the funeral service is held over it; it is not, however, buried, but the women go and weep at the grave of the relation who died last. Hahn, "Albanesische Studien," I, p. 152. (8) The Garuḍa-purāṇa (the best authority on modern Hindu beliefs and ceremonies relating to the dead) directs that "if a man dies in a remote place, or is killed by robbers in a forest, and his body is not found, his son should make an effigy of the deceased with Kusi grass, and then burn it on a funeral pile" with the usual ceremonies. Monier Williams, "Religious Thought and Life in India," p. 300. (9) In China, "during the reign of the Emperor Chan-tuk, in the first century of the Christian era, it was enacted that if the bodies of soldiers who fall in battle, or those of sailors who fall in naval engagements, cannot be recovered, the spirits of such men shall be called back by prayers and incantations, and that figures shall be made either of paper or of wood for their reception, and be burned with all the ordinary rites. . . . The custom is now universally observed." Gray, "China," I, p. 295 sq. "In case the corpse is not brought home to be buried, a letter, or some of the clothing recently worn by the deceased, or his shoes, or part of his baggage, is often sent home instead. The white cock and the mourners go forth to meet the letter or relic of the departed just as they would go to meet the corpse. On meeting the letter or the relic, the spirit passes as readily into the fowl as it would pass into it were the corpse itself met, and the spirit is conducted home just as surely." Doolittle, "Social

logic an effigy is every bit as good as its original.<sup>1</sup> Therefore when a man is buried in effigy with all due formality, that man is dead and buried beyond a doubt, and his ghost is as harmless as it is in the nature of ghosts to be.

But it occasionally happened that this burial by proxy was premature, that in fact the man was not really dead, and if he came home in person and positively declined to consider himself as dead, the question naturally arose, was he alive or was he dead? It was a delicate question, and the solution was ingenious. The man was dead, certainly—that was past praying for. But then he might be born again; he might take a new lease of life. And so it was; he was put out to nurse, he was dressed in long clothes; in short, he went through all the stages of a second childhood.<sup>2</sup> But before he was eligible even for this pleasing experience he had to overcome the initial difficulty of getting into his own house. For the door was as ghost-proof as fire and water could make it, and *he* was a ghost. As such, he had to do as ghosts do; in fact, not to put too fine a point on it, he had to come down the chimney.<sup>3</sup> And down the chimney he came—and this is an English answer to a Roman question.

*Life of the Chinese*,” p. 164 (ed. Paxton Hood). (10) In Vancouver’s Island, when a man was drowned and his body could not be found, the mourning took place in the usual way, and to the grave were carried two cedar boards, on “one of which was a small porpoise, over which the other board was placed, which bore the roughly traced representation of a man.” G. M. Sproat, “*Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*,” p. 263.

In Madagascar cenotaphs are erected for those whose bodies cannot be found and their ghosts are supposed to be allured thither. Ellis, “*History of Madagascar*,” I, p. 255. In New Zealand, “when a chief was killed in battle and eaten, his spirit was supposed to enter the stones of the oven, with which his body had been cooked, which retained their heat so long as it remained in them; his friends repeated their most powerful spells to draw his spirit out of the stones, and bring it within the waki tapu [sacred grove], for it was thought otherwise it could not rest, but would wonder about inflicting injury on the living, all spirits being considered maliciously inclined towards them; so when any were slain in battle, if the body could not be obtained, the friends endeavoured to procure some of the blood, or fragments of their garments, over which they uttered a karakia [spell], and thus brought the wandering soul into the spiritual fold.” Taylor, “*New Zealand*,” p. 221.

<sup>1</sup> For evidence see Tylor’s “*Early History of Mankind*,” p. 116 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, “*Rom. Quest.*,” v.

<sup>3</sup> See the passages cited in note 6 on p. 84. In classical times, when Plutarch wrote, the man probably descended through the *compluvium* (or *impluvium*, as it was less strictly called), an opening in the roof of the *atrium* or principal apartment. (See Marquardt, “*Privatleben der Römer*,” I, p. 231 *sqq.*) It is through this opening that Terence represents Jupiter as descending to Danaë (“*Eunuchus*,” II, 5, 40); and if any one was carried bound into the house of the Flamen Dialis, the ropes with which he had been tied had to be drawn up through the *compluvium*, and thence let down into the street (Aulus Gellius, x, 15, 8). But the *atrium* was originally dining-room and kitchen in one (Servius on Virgil, “*Æneid*,” i, 726); hence the *compluvium* was probably the smoke-hole or chimney of the primitive house.





mask to frighten away the spirits (Griffis, "Corea, the Hermit Nation," p. 278). If my explanation of the ceremony of passing through the fire (above, p. 81) is correct, the custom the people had of blackening each other on these occasions and wearing the smut on their faces for long afterwards was probably intended as an additional precaution against the demons of the plague (Grimm, "Deutsche Mythologie," II, p. 504).

The customs of blackening the face or body and of cutting the hair short after a death are very widespread. But when we find these customs observed after the death, not of a friend, but of a slain enemy (Bancroft, "Native Races," I, p. 764), no one will pretend that they are intended as marks of sorrow, and the explanation that they are intended to disguise the slayer from the angry ghost of the slain may be allowed to stand till a better is suggested. These disguises are meant to serve the same purpose as the so-called purifications of slayers of men and beasts (see above, p. 81). In fact, "mourning" and "purification" run into each other; this "mourning" is not mourning, and this "purification" is not purification. Both are simply pieces of spiritual armour, defences against ghosts or demons. In regard to "mourning" costume this appears clearly in the Myoro custom; when the child of a Myoro woman dies, she smears herself with butter and ashes and runs frantically about, while the men abuse her in foul language, for the express purpose of frightening away the demons who have carried off the child (Speke, "Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile," p. 542). If the curses are meant to frighten, are not the ashes meant to deceive the demon? Here the disguise is adopted as a protection, not against the spirit of the dead, but against the devils which carried it off, and it is possible that the same may be true of "mourning" costume in other cases; but considering the general vicious and dangerous nature of ghosts, it is probable that "mourning" costume was usually a protection against them, rather than against devils. For examples of blackening the body in mourning by means of ashes, soot, &c., see Carver, "Travels through the Interior Parts of North America," p. 407; Bancroft, "Native Races," I, pp. 86, 134, 173, 180, 206, 288, 370; *id.*, II, p. 618; H. H. Johnston, "The River Congo," p. 426; Chalmers and Gill, "Work and Adventure in New Guinea," pp. 36, 37, 149, 266, 286; Schoolcraft, "Indian Tribes," II, p. 68; *id.*, IV, pp. 55, 66; Cook's "First Voyage," Bk. I, c. 14; Charlevoix, "Journal Historique," II, p. 111; Du Chailu, "Journey to Ashango-land," p. 133; Turner, "Samoa," p. 308 (*id.*, "Nineteen Years in Polynesia," p. 322); Waitz, "Anthropologie," III, p. 196; *id.*, VI, p. 403; Wood, "Natural History of Man," I, p. 580; Sproat, "Scenes and Studies of Savage Life," p. 259; Smith's "Virginia," in Pinkerton's "Voyages and Travels," XIII, p. 39. The Andaman Islanders smear themselves with clay (E. H. Man, "Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands," pp. 73, 77, 78); the Egyptians threw mud on their heads (Herodotus, ii, 85; Diodorus, i, 72), and they sometimes do so still (Wilkinson, "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," III, p. 442. The custom of cutting the hair short in mourning is very common all over the world; examples would be endless. I may mention, however, that the Greek and Persian custom of cutting off the manes of their horses in extreme mourning is also observed by the Comanche Indians of North America (Euripides, "Alcestis," 429; Plutarch, "Pelopidas," 33; *id.*, "Alexander," 72; *id.*, "Aristides," 14; Herodotus, ix, 24; Bancroft, "Native Races," I, 523. The Comanches cut off the tails as well as the manes. Possibly the Greeks and Persians did so too, but it is only said that they "shaved" their horses, except in Euripides, where the shaving is distinctly confined to the manes). The opposite custom of letting the hair grow long in mourning is much rarer; it has been practised by the Egyptians (Herodotus, ii, 36), Jews (Buxtorf, p. 706; Bodenschatz, iv. p. 179), Chinese (Gray, "China," I, p. 286), widows on the Slave Coast (P. Bouche, "La Côte des Esclaves," p. 218 *seq.*), and Hindu sons in mourning for a parent (S. C. Bose, "The Hindoos as they are," p. 254). The practice of wounding or mutilating the body has also been very general. The case of the Koosaa widow in South Africa is instructive in various ways. She had to stay by herself in a solitary place beside a blazing fire for a month (as we saw above, p.

85); by night she came secretly to the hut where she had lived with her husband, and burned it down, after which she returned to her solitude. At the end of the month she *threw away her clothes, washed her whole body, scratched her breast, arms, and thighs with sharp stones, girded her body round with rushes twisted together, and at sunset* returned to the kraal (Lichtenstein, "Travels in Southern Africa," I, p. 259). Now when we remember the pains taken by widows in other parts of Africa to get rid of their husbands' ghosts (see above, p. 79), we can hardly doubt that the precautions taken by the Koossa widow had a similar object in view; that, in fact, by scratching her person, assuming a peculiar garb, and returning at dusk to her home, she was trying to throw the ghost off the scent. Some peoples (as the Sacæ), after a death, went down into pits and hid themselves for days from the light of the sun (Plutarch, "Consol. ad Apoll.," 22; Ælian, "Var. Hist.," xii, 38). At sunset Calabrian women cease from their wild lamentations and doff the black veils which they donned at the moment of death (V. Dorsa, "La Tradizione Greco-latina negli usi e nelle credenze popolari della Calabria Citeriore," p. 91). On my hypothesis the explanation of this interesting custom is that disguise is superfluous in the dark. At the same time it is curious to find the contrary custom (strict silence by day, loud lamentations by night) in places so widely apart as Madagascar and Yucatan (Ellis, "History of Madagascar," I, p. 233; Bancroft, "Native Races," II, p. 801). In Corea, sons in mourning for their parents wear a peaked hat, which covers the face as well as the head; the Jesuits in Corea have successfully availed themselves of this costume as a disguise (Griffis, "Corea, the Hermit Nation," p. 279; Reclus, "Nouvelle Géographie Universelle," VII, p. 675).

A few words may be added on mourning colours, though the subject does not concern us here very closely. Black dress (developed out of the habit of blackening the body with ashes, &c.) was, or is still, the usual mourning in ancient Greece (Homer, "Iliad," xxiv, 94; Artemidorus, "Oneirocrit.," ii, 3; Euripides, "Alcestis," 427; Plutarch, "Pericles," 38; Xenophon, "Hellen.," i, 7, 8; &c.), Rome (Marquardt, "Privatleben der Römer," I, p. 346), modern Greece (Wachsmuth, "Das alte Griechenland in neuen," p. 109), and among widows on the Slave Coast (P. Bouche, "La Côte des Esclaves," p. 218). The Omahas in North America painted themselves white (Waitz, "Anthropologie," III, p. 196), and white dress is (or was) mourning in Corea (Ross, "History of Corea," p. 318; cf. Dallet, "Histoire de l'Église de Corée," I, p. xxix), China (Dennys, "Folklore of China," p. 25; but for a more exact statement, see Doolittle, "Social Life of the Chinese," p. 138), Tonquin (J. G. Scott, "France and Tongking," p. 98; Baron, however, describes it as ash-coloured, "Description of the Kingdom of Tonqueen," in Pinkerton, ix, p. 698; Richard—in Pinkerton, *ib.*, p. 708—agrees with Scott), Siam (Pallegoix, "Siam," I, p. 246; C. Bock, "Temples and Elephants," I, p. 246), among the Mussas (Bock, *ib.*, p. 310), in ancient Argos (Plutarch, "Quæst. Rom.," 26), among Roman women, in Imperial times at least (Plutarch, *ib.*; Herodian, iv, 2), in Voigtland (Köhler, "Volksbrauch im Voigtland," p. 257, but the custom has nearly, if not quite, died out), and in Saterland in Oldenburg (Strackerjan, "Aberglaube und Sagen aus dem Herzogthum Oldenburg," II, p. 132). In England the scarfs, hatbands, and gloves worn at the funerals of unmarried persons and infants used always to be white (Brand, "Popular Antiquities," II, p. 283), and they are so still at the funerals of young persons in Scotland. When Sophocles heard of the death of Euripides he put on gray or dark blue (*ἰσάριον φαιὸν ἢ σκούριον*, Westermann's "Biographi Græci," p. 135), and gray (with the alternative of white) was mourning among the *Γαυβηταῖοι* (Corp. Inscript. Græc, II, n. 3562, quoted by Hermann, "Lehrbuch der griechischen Privatalthümer," p. 370, 3te Aufl.). Blue is the mourning colour for women in some parts of Germany (Rochholz, "Deutscher Glaube und Brauch," I, p. 198). A strip of blue is worn round the head by modern Egyptian women at a funeral, and from the monuments this appears to have been an ancient custom (Lane, "Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians," II, p. 257). Blue is said also to be the Syrian, Cappadocian, and Armenian colour (Brand, "Popular

Antiquities," II, p. 282), and dark blue may be used as an alternative to black by widows on the Slave Coast (Bouche, *loc. cit.*). In Guatemala a widower dyed himself yellow (Bancroft, "Native Races," II, p. 802), and it is said that Anne Boleyn wore yellow for Catherine of Aragon (Brand, II, p. 283).

#### NOTE II.—THE GOLDEN WELCOME.

If the spirit of the dead usually receives a grim or iron he occasionally receives a loving or golden welcome from his friends. The Coreans seek to recall the departed soul. A servant takes a garment once worn by the deceased, ascends to the top of the house, and, looking northward (whither the spirits flee), he calls aloud thrice the name of the deceased (Ross, "History of Corea," p. 321). The loud cry (*conclamatio*) raised by the Romans at death may have had the same object (Becker's "Gallus," p. 506). In Musuren on the evening of the funeral day they place a chair in the chamber of death and hang a towel on the door, for on that evening the ghost comes back from the grave, seats himself on the chair, weeps bitterly, dries his tears with the towel, and goes away for ever (Toppen, "Aberglaube aus Masuren," p. 111). The Jews keep a lamp burning for seven days at the head of the bed where the man died, because the ghost returns thither to weep (Buxtorf, "Synagoga Judaica," p. 711); beside this light were placed a glass of water and a towel (Bodenschatz, "Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden," iv, p. 178. The reason here assigned is that the Angel of Death may wash his sword in the water and wipe it with the towel, but probably the water and the towel were originally intended, like the light, for the convenience of the ghost). In some parts of Calabria they place bread and water in the room for three nights, because the ghost returns at midnight to eat and drink (V. Dorsa, "La Tradizione Greco-latina negli usi e nelle credenze popolari della Calabria Citeriore," p. 92). The Samoan custom of keeping up a stream of light between the house and the grave may have been intended (as we saw, p. 91) to show the ghost the way back to the house. With this object, apparently, some Central American tribes extend a thread from the house to the grave, carrying it in a straight line over every obstacle (Bancroft, "Native Races," I, p. 745). In some parts of Germany the funeral always goes by the high road, in order that the ghost may be able to find his way home (Sonntag, "Todtbestattung," p. 175). In the Mariana Islands when a man was dying they placed a basket beside him and begged the soul at its departure to go into the basket, and to take up its quarters there on any future visits to the house (Waitz, "Anthropologie," V, ii, p. 151). In some Russian villages from time to time all the dead are feasted in a house and are then let down through the window by a shroud into the street and go their way (Ralston, "Songs of the Russian People," p. 321, *sq.*).

#### DISCUSSION.

The PRESIDENT thought it a fair topic of discussion whether it was likely that any widely prevalent and long enduring custom sprang from a single root, and whether, on the other hand, its existence and persistence under very varied conditions was not some evidence of its origin in many roots, and of its being sustained by a concurrence of motives. He would instance the prevalent custom in society of avoiding the name of a recently deceased person when speaking to his or her very near relatives. For his own part he felt the disinclination very strongly, on the ground that it was too direct under the circumstances, and that a euphemism was more appropriate. Probably others felt the same, and he and they followed a savage custom for totally different reasons to that by which the savage was principally governed.

Dr. E. B. TYLOR remarked that Mr. Frazer's original and ingenious treatment of the evidence must materially advance the study of animistic funeral customs. His theory of the connection of purification by water or fire with attempts to bar the return of ghosts deserved, and would doubtless receive, the careful consideration of anthropologists. Dr. Tylor adduced from Mr. Yarrow's paper on Mortuary Customs a case of water burial carried out for the purpose of preventing the return of harmful ghosts. With regard to the entrance of the person supposed dead by the roof, he called attention to the fact that such entrance is adopted in some districts as a symbolic rite, perhaps indicating descent from heaven, which might possibly be the explanation of the Roman practice. Dr. Tylor concluded by expressing his satisfaction at the excellent results of Mr. Frazer's study of classical authors, not as mere ancient texts, but as repertories of real facts full of anthropological value.

Mr. F. T. HALL suggested that the idea of water as a barrier between the dead and the living might have originated with the primitive and indeed general belief that the souls of the departed are not at rest until they have passed to the other side of some great water, now referred to as "the river of death." The Chaldeans made their dead cross a mysterious sea, the Egyptian dead navigated across the infernal Nile; the Greeks and Romans had their Styx, over which the soul could not be ferried until proper funeral rites had been performed with the body, the unburied wandering on this side of these waters for twelve months before being allowed to cross. Even the waters of the firmament were considered to be interposed between earth and heaven. The general idea was that the earth, the abode of the living, was encompassed by water over which the dead souls had to pass before they reached the place of rest, and that until water was interposed between the dead and the living the soul could not be at rest and was apt to wander through the earth.

Mr. BEAUFORT observed that there was at all events one modern nation where water was not supposed to restrict the movements of ghosts, namely, Japan. On the evening that the speaker entered Nagasaki the Japanese were celebrating the annual return of the dead to visit the living. All the tombs were lighted by pretty coloured lanterns, and food was placed there for the use of the spirits. On the third day hundreds of miniature vessels were sent to sea freighted with food for the spirits on their return voyage. Thus the spirits make two voyages every year.

Mr. HYDE CLARKE said that in the consideration of the re-entry to the house it must be taken into account that in the Persian example, as in many others, the house would be terraced on the top with an approach from below. In most cases the houses are isolated, and as there is no exit elsewhere from the terrace it is naturally suggestive as an entry for the ghost. With regard to not mentioning the name of the dead, it must be borne in mind, there is equal superstition as to mentioning the name of the living, as of a husband. So also the sacred name of a city. The name is the spiritual essence

of the ghost and the Ka. A character for name is the round or circle, and this is perhaps the origin of the cartouche encircling names in hieroglyphics, &c. He might mention one legend as to the connection of the dead and the living in Slav countries, which he had learned from a Servian friend, in whose family an example had happened, and which he believed was included in the MSS. of the folk-lore of Servia prepared for the press by Madame Mijatovich. There is a superstition of a mysterious connection between those members of a family born in the same month, who are denoted in Slav as "Same month," and of whom of course there are many examples, as we may observe that even in a family of six the births will be severally in three or four months, and not in separate months for each. On a child dying there was great fear for the sister of the "same month," and it was considered necessary to preserve her from the danger or certainty of a similar premature death. A hobble was got in with which horses of the herd are hobbled on the plain, and the living was hobbled by the leg to the dead. An exorcist then repeated the necessary formula, and to him was handed a piece of silver money (about a shilling) which had been given or begged. The child lived, which is a testimony, and of course a confirmation, of the efficacy of the process.

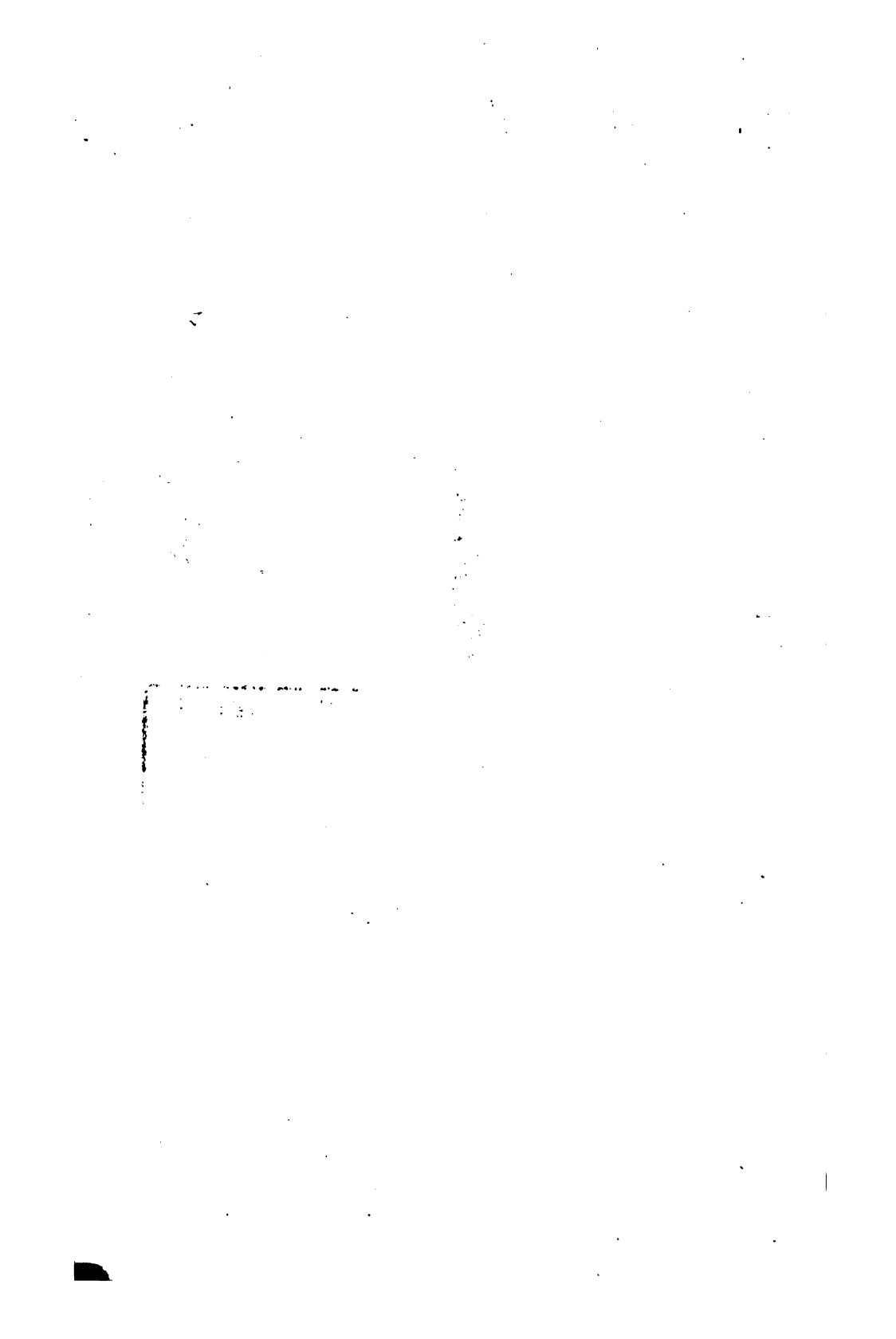
Mr. FRAZER, in reply, expressed his deep gratification at the interest which Mr. Tylor had expressed in his paper. It was the writings of Mr. Tylor which had first interested him in anthropology, and the perusal of them had marked an epoch in his life. He fully agreed with an observation of the President, that it would be hazardous to assume that when in modern times a man dresses very carefully on such momentous occasions as going into battle (as General Skobelev used to do), we had here a relic of the old feeling which prompted people to dress a dying man in his best clothes. On the other hand, he was inclined to think that in the modern reluctance to mention the name of a person recently deceased we had a relic (of course quite unconscious) of the old belief that a dead man will hear and answer to his name; there was a large substratum of savagery underlying all our civilisation. Replying to Mr. Tylor he said that he (Mr. Tylor) had laid his finger on the apparent inconsistency of the facts that ghosts could bathe in water, yet not cross it; but the author pointed out that men were exactly in the same predicament—that, in fact, in dealing with primitive ghosts we always had to regard them as being as nearly as possible the exact counterpart (only invisible) of men, and hence that though ghosts had the same difficulty which men had in crossing water, yet the difficulty was not insuperable for ghosts any more than for men. Thus Mr. Beaufort had informed them that Japanese ghosts could cross water in boats, and the author referred to the well-known story of King Gunthram, whose soul was seen to depart from him in sleep and to seek in vain to cross a stream till some one laid a sword across it, on which the soul immediately crossed over to the other side. With regard to the interesting Slavonic superstition mentioned by Mr. Hyde Clarke, that a child born in the same month with a child that had died was especially

likely to die, and that special precautions had to be taken to save it, the author suggested that we might get some light by comparing the Laosian beliefs with regard to children. The Laosians think that an infant is the child, not of its parents, but of the demons; and hence they call on the demons to carry off their child within four and twenty hours after birth or else to leave it for ever. Moreover, they give the child a hideous name by way of frightening away the demon, and they sell it for a nominal price to a friend, under the impression that the demons are too honest to carry off what has been actually bought and paid for. Now if the demons had carried off a child born in a particular month, it might be thought that this gave them a special power over another child born in the same month, and that therefore special precautions were needed to prevent its dying. One of the speakers had suggested that in Persia the supposed dead man might have returned through a door in a terraced roof. In reply, Mr. Frazer said that there was evidence to show that in the case in question the entrance was made through the *compluvium*, an opening in the *atrium* or principal apartment of the house. Now as this *atrium* was distinctly stated by the ancients to have been originally sitting-room and kitchen in one, it is not unreasonable to infer that it represented the single apartment of the primitive house, and that the aperture in the roof (afterwards known as the *compluvium*) was originally the smoke-hole or chimney.

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